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THE HISTORY
OF THE
WELSH SUNDAY CLOSING ACT.

BY
E. BEAVAN.



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OF THE
WELSH SUNDAY CLOSING ACT.

BY
E. BEAVAN.
(CARDIFF.)

Cardiff:
DANIEL OWEN AND COMPANY, LIMITED, ST. MARY STREET.

1885.

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P R E F A C E.

This sketch of the rise and progress of the movement which resulted in the passing of the Act whereby the sale of Intoxicating Liquors was prevented on the Lord's Day in the Principality, together with the necessity, operations, and success of the Act down to the present time, have appeared in a series of weekly articles in the *Western Mail*. In the hope that it will prove useful and interesting to those who not only have the Temperance cause at heart, but the desire to abolish "Sunday trading" in every respect, especially the sale of alcoholic drinks. It has been revised and is now sent forth in a new form, with the earnest wish of the Author that it may do something to advance the great movement which is grappling with the dread monster Drink, and aid in hastening the downfall of a traffic and system which is doing so much mischief in our midst daily, spreading and perpetuating gigantic evils on every hand, causing the cry to go up from the whole land for speedy deliverance from this dreadful plague and scourge.

E.B.

29, Wordsworth Street, Cardiff,
April, 1885.

THE WELSH SUNDAY CLOSING ACT.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

WALES AND WELSHMEN.

IN considering the history of the movement for the Sunday closing of public-houses in Wales it will be useful and necessary to sum up briefly the social condition of the Welsh people and the circumstances by which they are surrounded, which, in my opinion, did much toward the success of the movement. I propose to deal with these points and then proceed with the Sunday Closing Bill, or, as it will be more correct to write it now, Act. It will be quite unnecessary to enlarge at any great length upon the condition of the Welsh people—the facts will be admitted on all sides, I have little doubt—but it will be desirable to refer to the leading features, and to show their bearing upon the subject before us.

Many able pens have praised the beauties of Welsh scenery, and there is still work for a competent writer who could trace and describe the development of Welsh trade, commerce, industries, religion, education, literature, institutions, politics, the manners and customs of the people, and the extent to which these manners and customs have been influenced by the progress of this development. Wales can boast of many men to-day, dwelling in her beautiful valleys, climbing her rugged mountains, and travelling the chief

towns and cities of the Principality, who could do ample justice to such a work as is here suggested; men who have in prose and song, in books and periodicals, recorded the antiquity, grandeur, and glory of their country. Able men have, indeed, already carefully studied the characteristics of the people, and published the results of their studies, but a writer may yet one day arise who will deal with all these things as affected by the progress of the last quarter of a century. But my task is to write principally of her temperance and sobriety, and to tell how earnestly the people of Wales desired, worked, and prayed for the time, which at last came, when, in connection with other much-needed reforms and legislation on her behalf, Wales enjoyed the happiness of becoming free from the sale of intoxicating liquors upon licensed premises on the Lord's Day, by an Act of Parliament called the "Welsh Sunday Closing Act," passed on the 20th of August, 1881, receiving the Royal Assent a week later.

Forty years ago the *Morning Chronicle* of that day declared that "Wales was fast settling down into the most savage state of barbarism," and the *Examiner*, on its authority, stated that the Welsh people "were sunk in the depths of ignorance and in the slough of sensuality, and that their habits were those of animals and would not bear description." Roused by a sense of the wicked slander and intolerable insult thus flung out, a cry of universal indignation arose from all parts of the Principality, and these base insinuations and unjust attacks were repelled, repudiated, and successfully disproved, so that the day has gone by when Wales is talked of as she was forty years ago. Englishmen, who, up to recent date, seemed familiar only with the physical aspects and resources of the country, its romantic and picturesque scenery, and its mineral treasures, which pour a rich stream of wealth into the lap of their fortunate possessors, are now aware of the high moral tone and deep

religious feeling of the people. About twelve years ago Mr. Gladstone, speaking at a Welsh National Eisteddfod at Mold, said, "I will frankly own to you that I have shared at a former time, and before I had thus acquainted myself with the subject, the prejudices which prevail to some extent in England and among Englishmen with respect to the Welsh language and its antiquity, and I come here to tell you how and why I have changed my opinion."

This high moral tone and deeply religious character is fully proved by many illustrations which might be used, but I will refer only to one point—the great interest attaching to Sunday Schools, which nearly everywhere gather together a very large number of adults, showing that the habit of religion is not thrown aside with youth, but is retained through life. This, alas! cannot be said of England, but rather the reverse, for it is lamentable that elder scholars, when grown up, leave the Sunday Schools, and hence are withdrawn from the salutary and beneficial influences which might otherwise be exercised over them at the most critical period of their lives. That Wales retains these is a striking proof of the desire of the people for religious instruction. The number of churches and chapels in her midst, dotting hill and dale, wayside and village, town and country, rising before us like so many sacred temples set apart specially for the worship of God, furnishes another instance of the religious fervour and tendencies of the masses, and in relation to accommodation for public worship she presents a noble example to England and the world.

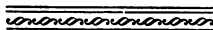
The voluntary principle practised in Wales calls forth the admiration of all classes and deserves recognition. The philanthropy and patriotism of her sons are worthy of being handed down to all posterity. This is manifested in a touching manner in seasons of distress and at the times of those sudden calamities which often occur in some portions of the Principality, and, indeed, when any circumstance

arises to call it forth. Then do we behold a beautiful illustration of the words, "Bear ye one another's burdens," "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," and realise, in the truest sense, that we are brothers, and that it is our duty to love our neighbour as ourselves.

The famous preachers, gifted orators, and devoted self-sacrificing public men of Wales may be counted in great numbers. Their intense zeal and earnestness, their power to move and thrill, and subdue vast multitudes and immense congregations who meet to listen to their teaching, their wonderful pathos, simplicity of purpose, graphic description, solemn invocation, impassioned appeals, which go straight to the hearts of mankind, moving them by strong emotion into tears, swaying them to and fro with the force of their mighty and burning eloquence, rivetting their attention, captivating the mind, and turning men to seek for "the higher life," "the better way": all this is worthy of special remark, and to be spoken of in highest praise and commendation as the prelude to that brighter era and more brilliant career which should open up to Wales. It was the teaching, preaching, and solid work of fifty years ago, carried on with a force and power utterly irresistible, that prepared the way for the good things which have followed, and which she to-day enjoys.

The patience and endurance, courage and fidelity, bravery and heroism which have shone forth in the character of the people call for our admiration. The low state of crime, the absence of serious offences in any considerable numbers, the freedom from vice and persistent wrong-doing has on many occasions led to most favourable comments from Her Majesty's Judges, who have held the inhabitants of the Principality up as an excellent example to the rest of the United Kingdom. The institutions, the nature and extent of the literature, the cultivation of music and poetry, have raised the taste of the Welsh people and have exerted

a most powerful influence for good. Who has not heard of the harp, held so dear and sacred to every true Welshman, the sweet strains of which, floating in the air and borne upon the gentle breeze, seem to awaken in his breast a joy and delight which know no bounds? The social and domestic life, simple and quiet habits, good behaviour and pure living, these things, with various other traits in the national character, have been so many links in the chain leading to legislation which should assist Wales in becoming more sober, and more anxious to have removed out of the way those temptations which often bring a country into disorder and ruin. The greatest of these temptations at the present day being the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors, therefore its restriction and diminution should be hailed with pleasure and satisfaction, more especially, as a first step in the right direction, the prohibition of its sale upon the Sunday. Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin, any sin, and certainly the sin of trading upon the Sabbath, is a reproach, and should be wiped out.



II.—PREPARING THE WAY.

THE commencement of the agitation for the Sunday closing of public-houses in Wales dates many years back. About the year 1869 this subject exercised very powerfully the mind of a large body of friends of Sunday Closing, who for the most part were *not* teetotalers, and hence could not be charged with fanaticism or enthusiasm upon this matter, as many of us are being constantly charged to-day. They were the grand army of Sunday School teachers of that date, who set about this, by no means easy task, and toiled zealously on until a canvass had been made of all North and South Wales upon this question, their labours ending in the magnificent result of 93 per cent. of the householders being found in favour of closing upon Sundays the whole of the twenty-four hours. Brave, heroic young men and women were those who first carried out such a plan, and adopted this method for testing the Principality upon such an inquiry. More devoted and self-sacrificing, I fancy, than the generation of young people now growing up and in a similar position. Such a splendid record deserves to be told over and over again in honour of Wales, which fifteen years ago was sound at heart, and ripe for a measure which has of late been held up unsuccessfully to public ridicule. Good men seldom fail in the purpose set before them, and although a lull may come over the public mind in relation to great reforms, and the ardour of some may become damped, and their courage cooled, yet all enterprises which have for their object the uplifting of humanity will ultimately end in success.

Though a temporary pause came in the carrying on of this crusade, arising from various causes, many of which were beyond human control and could not be averted, yet the object was not allowed to slide away or slumber long, for the truth remains, which has been proved a thousand times, that "God buries His workmen, but carries on his work;" and men were soon found who were willing and did take up the work which others, for reasons best known to themselves, laid aside, or altogether dropped. These have had the joy and happiness of seeing their labours carried, under God's blessing, to a successful termination, though prosecuted amid many discouragements and much opposition, amounting even to persecution, by a few narrow-minded, bigoted, and interested persons engaged in the liquor traffic, and a small section of their supporters, who, seeing their craft in danger and their businesses about to be curtailed, made at the last a frantic effort to maintain a monopoly of a trade by selling intoxicating drinks seven days a week, which by law is sanctioned to no other business, but, indeed, prohibited in the one case and protected in the other. Protected in the case of a traffic which, in the language of the present Prime Minister, who, in the House of Commons on the 5th of March, 1880, uttered these words:—"Greater calamities are inflicted upon mankind by intemperance than by the three great historical scourges, war, pestilence, and famine; that is true, and is the measure of our discredit and our disgrace."

Happily, the opponents failed to prevent the measure passing; they tried their best and relinquished no chance or favourable opportunity which presented itself to them to defeat the object in view. They were, however, in a hopeless minority from the first, to the very last, so that to-day Wales is blest, and her people are very properly proud, for many reasons, of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act.

III.—THE AGITATION IN CARDIFF IN 1871.

THE Welsh Sunday Closing Act has been talked of as if it were of mushroom growth, or the work of but a comparatively very short time. But this is not so, for the agitation commenced in Cardiff as far back as the year 1871, when, I think, the matter was first introduced and discussed in our old, highly favoured town—certainly the first time under such auspicious circumstances, for the gathering was a most influential and representative one.

It was on Wednesday, the 17th of September, 1871, that a conference was convened of magistrates, merchants, clergymen, ministers, and others, to consider the Licensing Laws with a view to their amendment; and among those who attended were the following well-known gentlemen:—The late Right Rev. Dr. Ollivant, Lord Bishop of Llandaff (who presided); Mr. (now Sir) H. H. Vivian, M.P.; Major Turberville, J.P.; the late Mr. C. W. David (then Mayor of Cardiff); Mr. J. Lewis, J.P.; Mr. R. O. Jones (Stipendiary Magistrate of Cardiff), Mr. John Cory, Mr. R. Cory, jun.; Mr. John Davies, Mr. George Smart, Dr. Taylor, Mr. T. Waring, Mr. A. Bassett, Mr. W. L. Daniel (Merthyr); the late Dr. T. Evans, Mr. W. T. Raper, The Revs. Canon Hawkins, C. Parsons, Parker Morgan, V. Saulez, W. Bruce, A. Tilly, N. Thomas, Father Signini, Father Cassia, with many other distinguished ministers and gentlemen belong-

ing to Cardiff and neighbourhood, and a good sprinkling of ladies. The first resolution proposed was as follows :—

Moved by Mr. H. H. Vivian, M.P., and seconded by Major Turberville, J.P. :—"That this conference, having considered the present unsatisfactory state of the laws relating to the liquor traffic, causing as they do a fearful amount of vice and demoralisation, hereby resolves to press upon Parliament the urgent necessity of passing next session a Bill for their amendment, which shall regulate the licensing authority of the magistrates, shorten the hours of sale both on week days and Sundays, reduce the number of licensed houses, provide against adulteration, and enforce more stringent police regulations."

Such were the terms of the resolution, and while it embodied many good things and embraced many points worthy the fullest consideration of such an august assembly, I am sorry to note that not much has been done in relation to the business for which this meeting was summoned, except in regard to Sunday Closing. For instance, what has been done by way of better regulating the traffic or reforming the licensing authority of magistrates? What, during the last fourteen years, has been done in regard to shortening the hours on week days, or reducing the number of licensed houses, providing against adulteration, or enforcing more stringent police regulations? In reply to these interrogations may we not truthfully answer, very little, almost nothing? Notwithstanding that there are nearly 400 Acts of Parliament on the Statute Books which profess to regulate this trade, it continues to flourish to-day, and unblushingly vaunts itself in the face of an injured public, and a country partly ruined by its terrible consequences, and its worse than waste of national resources. Is it not utterly appalling when we contemplate the terrible fact that we have no less than about 170,000 of these places licensed to-day for the sale of this pernicious and poisonous article? Talk of regulating this traffic, exercising greater vigilance over it, preventing its spread, &c. I ask, Who is

responsible for these things? Surely[the resolution moved at this meeting points to the parties; and we hesitate not to charge magistrates, head constables, the police, and Watch Committees with the grave responsibility of dealing with this evil and correcting it. If these persons would but efficiently do their duty, and carry out the provisions already made in Acts of Parliament, bye-laws, and other regulations, then, indeed, would they do much towards reducing the enormous evils growing out of this business, which stagger us at every turn. We complain bitterly of the laxity of the police, and do not wonder that in Cardiff in 1871 this was the burden of the cry raised. It has been many times told us, and again very recently by Sir W. V. Harcourt, the present Home Secretary, that the remedy is in the hands of the authorities. Hence we have a right to demand that they use it in controlling and lessening this fearful evil to their utmost—an evil which haunts us like a deadly plague.

An amendment was proposed at this conference by Mr. T. Richardson, seconded by the Rev. W. Arnold, which provided for entire Sunday Closing, and giving power to the ratepayers to restrain the issue, or renewal, of licenses. This was supported in a truly able, exhaustive, and most eloquent speech by Mr. W. L. Daniel, of Merthyr, who was frequently loudly applauded, and who evidently carried the meeting with him—the fullest sympathy possible being expressed at the terms of the amendment. Sir H. H. Vivian, M.P., stated that during the twenty years he had been a member of Parliament he had presented more petitions for the suppression of intemperance than on all other subjects put together. Other gentlemen spoke of the necessity for closing public-houses on election days—both Parliamentary and municipal—of urgent legislation to prevent the holding of election committees upon licensed premises, of the abolition of the Quarter Sessions Court of Appeal against local

magisterial decisions, the repeal of the Wine Act of 1860, and especially did they favour entire Sunday Closing, so that the amendment was carried enthusiastically.

In April, 1872, a NorthWales Conference on Intemperance was held at Rhyl, to take into consideration the licensing question in all its aspects. The first resolution proposed at this conference related to Sunday Closing. Three sittings took place, under the presidency of Sir R. A. Cunliffe, Bart.; Lord Richard Grosvenor, and Richard Davies, Esq., M.P., respectively. Amongst those who took part in the proceedings were Sir Stephen Gwynne, Bart.; The Lord Bishop of Bangor; W. Cornwallis West, Esq., and many other influential North Walians.

It is only bare justice to refer to the valuable work done in North Wales by the Rev. Samuel Owen, a devoted minister of the Calvinistic Methodist body, who was untiring in his efforts on behalf of Sunday Closing. It is through the agency of such men that the best work is often done.

It will materially strengthen the position taken up with regard to Sunday Closing if I refer to various opinions expressed about this time by eminent clergymen on the subject. The Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury appointed a committee to consider and report upon the prevalence of intemperance, the evils resulting therefrom, and the remedies which may be applied, and after a great many long and anxious sittings they framed and agreed to a report, based upon some thousands of communications received in reply to questions sent out. Here are a few of the very many received upon Sunday Closing. One clergyman says: "If public-houses were closed in this district on Sundays it would materially diminish intoxication." Another says: "It destroys half the value of all religious services, and the influence which a right observance of the Lord's Day might have upon the parish at large." Another: "The public-house does more

business on Sunday than all the week put together, and three-fourths of my parish have signed petitions to Parliament for closing altogether on Sundays. The compulsory closing of public-houses on Sunday would be a great boon." A fourth says: "No one can well exaggerate the very injurious influence which the sale of intoxicating liquors in public-houses on Sundays exercises over the religious and moral feelings of our population." A fifth: "Better close them entirely on Sundays." A sixth: "The closing of public-houses in my parish on Sundays has done more than anything else to check intemperance." This valuable report contains the following remarkable summing up:—

Your committee feel it their duty to urge the closing of public-houses on the Lord's Day.

Passing away from 1871 I come to 1875, and upon October 20th of that year, another influential conference of ministers and laymen, from various counties in Wales, was called together at Swansea to consider "the best means of checking intemperance." At this conference the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

That a measure be introduced into Parliament specially for Wales, providing for the entire Sunday closing of public-houses on the Lord's Day.

On the 17th of the following month (Nov., 1875) a deputation waited upon Mr. Henry Richard, M.P. for Merthyr, by appointment, at Zoar Schoolroom, in that town, and went fully into the subject of Sunday closing for Wales, arriving at the following conclusion:—

That such a measure is very desirable, and should be promoted in Parliament with all speed, and we pledge ourselves to support the same to the utmost of our power and ability.

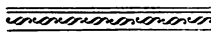
That deputation consisted of Dr. Rawlings, Swansea; the Rev. Charles Ayliffe (now of Newport); Mr. W. L. Daniel, Merthyr, and Mr. John Fergusson, Cardiff, with many other staunch temperance friends, as well as true

supporters of social and moral reform. I cannot proceed further without paying a well-deserved tribute to the Good Templar Order comprising the English Grand Lodge of Wales. Cardiff can now claim a large number of the highest officials of the order who have wrought great things in our midst during the last fourteen or fifteen years, Mr. W. T. Raper, Mr. John Fergusson, Mr. G. Shepherd, Mr. George Roper, with many others, being its leading members. This body, in a hearty, zealous, and determined manner, faced the question of Sunday Closing, for in their journal of proceedings of 1875, when in session at Swansea I read, "August 17, 1875. The unanimity of opinion in Ireland upon Sunday closing has brought the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the front as one of its warmest supporters in the House of Commons—a decided advance has been made, and eventually the Bill must pass. If Ireland succeeds, why should Wales, with 93 per cent. of its inhabitants in favour of such a measure, not have a Bill of its own also? We must, and will, work for this." At the same sitting a strong recommendation was sent to its Executive Committee to take the necessary steps for securing entire Sunday closing for Wales, and two years later (1877) the same Grand Lodge, assembled at Wrexham, suggested a canvass of the Principality for this purpose, which was afterwards done, with results that fully justified the means adopted and the goal towards which their faces were set. To the English Grand Lodge of Wales, therefore, we are indebted for much of the success gained in obtaining the Act, and it has earned the well-merited thanks of the people of Wales.

The movement in North Wales grew rapidly, and many meetings and conferences were held. The North Wales Committee was actively engaged upon a canvass of the inhabitants, and when the real feeling of the public on the question became known, the late Dean of Bangor

suggested that a Sunday Closing Bill for Wales should be introduced as early as possible.

In closing my third chapter of this history I am compelled to make passing reference to other organizations which did excellent service, such as the Order of Rechabites, Sons of Temperance, Temperance Societies of various towns, and the United Kingdom Alliance. (The latter organization and its operations will be more fully referred to later.) These and many kindred and religious institutions came gallantly to our aid and took up the work of noble spirits who had fallen in the fight—men who did admirable service in championing this grand cause as long as they were able, but, when they could do so no longer these earnest workers sprang forward, and followed up the arduous undertaking committed to them. Instead, therefore, of abandoning this “work of faith and labour of love,” it was continued, and this, too, amid great self-denial, immense sacrifice of comfort, time, money, and business, all to prevent a grievous wrong from being inflicted and perpetuated in our midst by licensed houses having the exceptional privilege of the sale of intoxicating drinks on the Sunday, in opposition to the wish and will of the people, and in direct contravention of the law of God, which distinctly says: “Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.”



IV.—THE AGITATION BEING FOLLOWED UP.

THIS subject of Sunday Closing, in its broad and more general aspect, if pursued, and not confined to Wales, would be a profitable and deeply interesting study. In the contemplation of it we should soon discover that the Imperial Legislature has been from time to time convinced of the evils arising from Sunday trading in this special and exceptional direction, and it is quite evident that the national conscience has again and again been aroused and stung by the magnitude and numerous forms of the vice and crime growing out thereof, and also smitten with a desire to remedy it. This fact is most conclusively proved by the many Acts of Parliament passed with a view to minimise the sale of intoxicating liquors on the Sunday and the restrictions placed upon such sale by those Acts. It will be sufficient if we mention two or three only enacted during the last 40 years. Prior to 1848 the state of the law was such that publicans were entitled to sell all day on Sundays, except during the hours of Divine Service, morning and evening ; but in that year (1848) an Act was passed which had the effect of closing all public-houses from midnight on Saturday until 12.30 noon on Sundays, thus sweeping away at a stroke 12½ hours of legal time for the sale of drink. Then, in 1855, another Act was passed which cut off two hours more, by compelling the houses to be closed at 10 p.m. instead of midnight. Afterwards came the Act of 1872, which took off another slice, and so sought to repair a mischief of long standing by a further curtailment. Lastly came the Act of

The first thing I noticed
when I stepped out of the car
was the smell of fresh air.
It was so different from the
stuffy atmosphere of the office.
I took a deep breath and
felt a sense of relief.
The sun was shining brightly,
and the birds were singing.
It felt like I had entered a new world.
I walked towards the park
with a light heart.
The children were playing happily,
and the flowers were in full bloom.
I smiled at the beauty of it all.
This was exactly what I needed.
A place where I could breathe freely
and feel alive again.

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1881, which finished the whole business of Sunday opening so far as Wales was concerned, except the clause relating to *bond fide* travellers, concerning which we will not rest until it is amended, or struck out altogether.

After the year 1875, nothing of vital importance to the measure transpired until 1878, except that, during this interval of three years, silent work was all along being done in the right direction. In fact, these three years were not spent in idleness by any means; men were busy and public opinion in Wales was daily being fashioned and strengthened, in various ways and by many methods, in favour of the Act. About this time (1877-8) the United Kingdom Alliance began to turn its attention more particularly than it had hitherto done to Wales, in order to assist and supplement the agencies already in existence in the Principality, with the view of helping forward temperance legislation, not the least part of its work being the closing of public-houses on Sunday. Most people are acquainted more or less with the organization and platform of the United Kingdom Alliance, though not perhaps so well acquainted as they might be. The movement is, however, deserving of the widest publicity and most generous support of all classes. A powerful organization of over 30 years' standing, and which has for its president the wise, witty and honourable baronet, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., numbering also among its vice-presidents, executive, and supporters many learned and distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament. Its platform embraces total abstinence for the individual, local option for the people, and prohibition for the State. It aims at the utter annihilation of the liquor traffic, and will be satisfied with nothing short of the total extinction of this trade everywhere. What wonder, then, that its executive should come to the rescue? And when the cry was raised, "Come over and help us," they responded in a prompt and liberal manner, and were glad to show their sympathy with,

and desire to assist Wales by sending a special agent to reside in our midst, whose chief business was to promote temperance legislation of all kinds. The result has been most satisfactory, for, after seven years of strenuous effort, we have the happiness of seeing 29 out of the 30 members of North and South Wales favourable to Sunday Closing and Local Option. We, therefore, heartily congratulate the governing body of the Alliance upon having done their work so efficiently and with such marked success. Nor must I omit to mention the very valuable services periodically rendered by most distinguished advocates and warm friends of the Alliance, who have expounded in eloquent language the principles of the movement to large audiences in Cardiff, Swansea, and other important centres in Wales. Foremost of these being His Eminence Cardinal Manning, Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P. (now raised to the dignified post of Civil Lord of the Admiralty, a position of which his temperance friends are justly proud); the late deeply-lamented Mr. A. M. Sullivan, barrister; and Mr. J. H. Kaper, of London, Parliamentary agent of the Alliance, and to whom the organization is greatly indebted for the prominent place which it holds to-day in the country at large. The services rendered by such brilliant intellects and popular orators cannot be forgotten. The good they have been instrumental in accomplishing lives to-day, as they live, in the hearts and affections of a grateful people, and their work is as "bread cast upon the waters," seen after many days.

It was not long after the advent of the Alliance into Wales before the agitation for Sunday Closing began again in great earnest, and with zeal and determination. It was firmly resolved then to "push the battle to the gate," and not slacken until victory had crowned our efforts. During 1879 the movement made a new departure, and from that

period it never flagged or faltered until the passage of the Bill through Parliament had been secured.

Although the Welsh have always been admitted to be a well-behaved people, whose national character and general habits have called forth the respect, and even admiration of other countries, yet surely this fact cannot be used for one moment as a successful argument against Sunday Closing, and he must be a bold person indeed who would dare venture upon such an assumption. The admitted sobriety and morality of Wales is an argument decidedly in favour of Sunday Closing, for it must be conceded that, however good a people or nation may be, anything that will add to its continuance in well doing, contributes to its better conduct, and conduces to its real benefit, and so prevents it from degenerating or retrograding. We are tempted to ask here, and it is quite in keeping with our theme—What is sound, just, and wise legislation? And to answer, “Doing the greatest good to the greatest number;” “making it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong.” Surely this teaching cannot be called Utopian, or childish; it is too closely allied to the standard of the age and its requirements to be denominated “grandmotherly legislation.” The removal of temptation is infinitely more to be desired than its lurking in our midst. There will always be found those who carp at any form of legislation, and grumble at anything done which may in the least be thought to interfere with their business, curtail their liberty, or even cause them the slightest inconvenience. There is no legislation, however insignificant by comparison it may be, but will clash more or less with the rights or supposed rights of some portion of the community. But this cannot prevent progressive legislation taking place. It is common sense, therefore, to assume that, while a proper deference and consideration should be paid to minorities, and their opinions received and treated with respect, majorities should rule, for in the deliberations

and decisions of the many there is usually wisdom, and as unity is strength, so in numbers there is generally safety. We believe in the doctrine of right against might, and in the struggle for Sunday Closing right has prevailed. Some prejudiced persons may accuse me of wandering from the point and "beating about the bush," but I am quite content to be judged by an impartial tribunal and those who are most capable, not by those biassed against the subject, and possibly against the writer, for—

It is true if you show the least boldness of heart,
 Or a slight inclination to take others' part,
 They will then call you meddlesome, conceited, or vain.
 Yet I'll keep straight ahead, and more fully explain,
 I shall get through this history, but 'twill be very slow,
 If I listen to half that is said as I go,
 But I will not, though lashed with all sorts of abuse,
 And shall not try to stop them, it ain't any use,
 For people will talk.

The history of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act so far has clearly pointed to a whole country well nigh unanimous in its favour, and I will try to show the great advantages already gained, and yet to be derived from this measure, for assuredly the longer we have the opportunity afforded us of witnessing its legitimate development the greater will be the realization of the blessing bestowed, and the more clearly and forcibly shall we behold the vast benefits it is destined to confer upon Wales and its people. When the Act has had a fair trial I shall not fear the verdict which the common sense of the people and an enlightened country shall pronounce upon its justice and fairness.

V.—STARTLING FACTS IN SUPPORT OF THE MEASURE.

LET me now present some facts, which may fairly be called “startling,” in favour of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act; which must commend themselves to the public mind again, as they did when presented to the country through the House of Commons and other sources, and were used as so many arguments in support of the measure now under consideration, and did so much to influence the voting power of those called upon to pass this Act. The statistics I shall quote will fit in at this stage, and, indeed, are necessary to strengthen us in our future task and complete the subject we are now discussing.

In reviewing the well-directed aims of those who have gone before, and made the rugged paths we tread so much the smoother for their having passed over, we are reminded of the stern realities of human life in its various aspects, and that

We live
In deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not breaths ;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial ;
We should count time by heart throbs.
He most lives who thinks most,
Feels the noblest, acts the best.

I feel it my bounden duty to set forth the splendid results arising from Sunday Closing in Scotland and Ireland, and particularly wish working men to fully understand what it has done in countries where it has been tried. *The cry* is raised by the opponents of Sunday Closing that

it is an injustice to the working men, and they say that the working men are opposed to it. But no respectable working man acquainted with the operation of the Acts in Scotland and Ireland would desire their repeal. We shall discover that Scotland and Ireland will furnish ample proof to the most sceptical mind to convince him of the truths which we assert.

Take first the report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners of Scotland, for 1870, vol. ii., pp. 8 and 17: "For ten years preceding the Act, Scotland consumed 66,675,852 gallons of British spirits. Ten years after the Act, 51,442,915 gallons, or a decrease of over 15,000,000 gallons." Or take another average, struck by a very eminent statistician, Mr. William Hoyle. For seven years before the Sunday Closing Act for Scotland the average consumption was 6,825,320 gallons. Seven years after the Act it fell to 5,392,282 gallons, or equal to a reduction of 21 per cent. Again, compare the following:—

BEFORE THE ACT.	AFTER THE ACT.
1850—7,122,987	1880—6,325,036
1851—6,830,710	1881—6,562,259
1852—7,172,015	1882—6,502,955

Or, after the Act, a decrease in the last three years, over the first, of 1,735,462 gallons, equal to 8 per cent. But, during the 30 years the population had risen from 2,888,742 in 1851 to 3,734,370 in 1881, or nearly 25 per cent., so that, taking into account the increase of population, the decrease in the consumption of liquor was, for the 30 years, over 21 per cent.

What about the drinking shebeens, and illicit sale of drink in Scotland. Mr. A. M'Call, chief constable of Glasgow, gave the following in evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat to inquire upon the Irish Sunday Closing Bill. In answer to question No. 3,286, which was, "Do you find that the closing of

public-houses on the Sundays has increased the number of houses where drink is sold without a licence?" He said, "The number of houses where drink is sold illicitly in Glasgow at the present time is not *one-third* what they were at the time the Forbes-Mackenzie Act came into operation." The same witness, when asked about arrests for drunkenness, said: "Three years before the Act the arrests stood at 66,993, or an average of $71\frac{1}{3}$ per diem. Three years after the Act they fell to 53,775, or an average of 57 per diem; Sunday arrests before the Act were 4,082, or an average of 26 per Sunday. After the Act, 1,466, or an average of only $9\frac{1}{2}$ per Sunday, and showing a decrease in Sunday arrests in three years of nearly 70 per cent."

Then what about the club question in Scotland (we will deal with clubs in Wales and Cardiff later on, after disposing of Scotland and Ireland). Let us hear the same witness again as to clubs. Question 3,315 ran as follows: "How many clubs are there in Glasgow?" Answer: "Altogether, ten." Question 3,317: "Are they *bond fide* clubs?" Answer: "Yes." Question 3,318: "And not got up for drinking purposes?" Answer: "No." Question 3,320: "There are some workmen's clubs in Glasgow, I believe." Answer: "Yes, but they are temperance." The Chief Constable of Edinburgh gave evidence before the same Committee at this time and to the same effect, but let me add that he, to question 3,573, "Have you ever heard of any agitation for the re-opening of public-houses?" gave this very significant and unqualified answer, "None whatever." When the Irish Bill was likely to pass in consequence of its being so materially strengthened by evidence from all parts of Scotland, and which spoke volumes in favour of the Forbes-Mackenzie Act having accomplished so much good on behalf of the "canny Scots," all the influence possible was brought to bear by the "*trade*" to secure the Scotch vote against the Irish Bill;

but with what result? Why this—that 38 voted for the Irish Bill and only three against. These 38 M.P.'s knew very well the immense benefit the same measure had wrought in their own country, and felt they must help Ireland to the same boon.

From Scotland let us turn to Ireland, which has been pointed at with scorn. Ireland has surely enough burdens to carry without having strictures cast upon her which are utterly false. Ireland, however, would be a much happier country to-day were she to spend less upon intoxicating drinks, and just in proportion to the population becoming sober, so will they become free and independent. Listen to the words of one whose voice has been so recently hushed in death, whose gentle form, silver tongue, and manly utterances we shall never behold or listen to again, and whose decease has caused the deepest, keenest sorrow in thousands of hearts and homes, and made a gap in the nation it will be difficult to fill. The late Mr. A. M. Sullivan said "76 out of the 103 Irish members were fully pledged to Sunday Closing, and weary years were spent in what was known as the Publican's Parliament, until Irish members were angered to think that on a non-political and purely social and moral question the sentiment of the whole country should be frustrated. At length the interests of vat and barrel were sunk on behalf of the only question which had united the Orangemen of Ulster and the Ultramontanes of Munster; and the Government granted Sunday Closing to Ireland. No sooner had the Bill passed than the blessings that prevailed in every district were so evident, that there was no barony in Ireland in which the opponents of the measure would venture to take a poll, even to get one-fourth of the people on their side. To any who had been imposed on by the statistics issued by the opponents of temperance he would say there would be a remarkable disclosure of their fallacy in the debates that would take place in Parliament

VI.—FURTHER REASONS FOR SUNDAY CLOSING.

I CANNOT be wrong in endeavouring to fortify my readers with ample matter which will make the case clear and convincing. One noteworthy feature about the statistics is, that they are brought down to 1881-2, the time of the passing, and coming into operation, of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, and thus their connection with, and applicability to, our history is at once established. Despite the pleasing fact, which ought not to be passed over silently, that very many publicans, and others engaged in the liquor business in the Principality, expressed themselves in favour of Sunday Closing, not a few urging members of Parliament to agitate for it, sending letters almost daily to Mr. John Roberts, M.P., the champion who introduced the Bill for Wales, and stood by it during every stage it reached, in the last and present Parliament, until it finally passed, yet in England a rather different state of things existed with what results we will presently see. The licensed victuallers in England—or rather I ought to say a section of them—seemed to view with dismay and confusion, the change to be brought about by Sunday Closing, and the effect it would have upon their business by diminished receipts and great restriction of sale, hence they worked to defeat the object of Wales, and prevent, if possible, a similar measure for *England*.

On February 20, 1880, and in the face of coming events, pretty plainly foreseen, as it would appear, a letter was sent out from the Licensed Victuallers' Protection Society, London, signed by F. J. Deacon, chairman, and E. W. Norfolk, secretary, wherein it is urged "Let the results of your efforts, (*i.e.*, to get signatures against Sunday Closing), be so surprising as to leave no doubt as to the feeling on this question. Act quickly and vigorously, and those who can should place a table outside their houses, to catch the signatures of the passers-by." In the same circular we also find this passage:—"Obtain as many signatures as possible, male or female, of and above the age of 16." These letters were sent out to 52 counties in England and Wales; 40 made *no response at all*, and, of eight counties that returned petitions, an analysis showed that the signatures averaged only *seventeen* to each public-house. Why this utter failure? The answer is not far to seek. Because the working classes were dead against it. This is the correct solution of the problem, and we know full well, that just as the working man investigates this subject, and is educated upon these matters, so much sooner will the day dawn, when Sunday Closing shall be universally adopted, and we are most anxious that the hard-handed sons of toil, should earnestly seek the fullest information in regard to this question, and not rest until every source has been exhausted.

We will put our remarks to the test. Take Lancashire for example, and what do we find? It will be admitted that this county can boast of being the chief centre of shipping, manufacturing industries, and having a population mainly composed of the working classes. In answer to the circular from the "trade," the appeal resulted in only 35,448 signatures from the whole of Lancashire. The

figures relating to Sunday Closing in eight towns in this one county are:—

	For total Closing.	Against.	Majority For.
Accrington	6,752	456	5,296
Blackburn	9,795	1,917	7,878
Bolton	6,377	1,817	4,560
Liverpool.....	44,061	8,542	35,519
Manchester	30,259	4,091	26,168
Preston	8,142	394	7,748
Salford.....	9,210	1,888	7,322
Stockport.....	5,020	550	4,470

Or a majority of over 100,000 householders in eight towns of Lancashire, which towns, because of the special trades carried on in them, and the great amount of shipping in Liverpool, cannot be the most favourable to Sunday Closing. Nevertheless, I am anxious to leave opponents without excuse, and would rather err against my view than against them. The advocates of Sunday Closing have been charged over and over again with "robbing a poor man of his beer." When I think of this sentence, I feel amused and ashamed; amused because of the kind of plea set up, as if the working man (for this is really what is meant in this case by the "poor man") was not able to take care of himself or find an excuse of his own, and needed the middle, and upper classes to assist him in framing an excuse to bolster up a system that the "poor man" wishes to see demolished and swept away. "Robbing a poor man of his beer!" Why not let the poor man alone and give him the chance to free himself? Why not help him to unbind his own fetters and snap his own chain, or else for very shame get out of the way, and let him do for himself, what you positively refuse to do for him. Rob your father of rheumatism, or your brother of the toothache, for you may with equal propriety talk of these things as of such nonsense and twaddle as robbing a poor man of his beer. Are not the figures above sufficient to demonstrate this? If

not, here are more, which must help to destroy this absurd notion. Some time ago a canvass was made in two of the above towns, viz., Liverpool and Preston, and this time for the sole purpose of testing the working man's vote only, on this subject, none other being allowed to sign. Here is the result:—

	For total Sunday Closing.	Against.	For Opening two hours.
Liverpool	32,013	2,225	4,279
Preston	5,695	245	265

What does this mean? Just this, that in Liverpool for every working man in favour of Sunday Opening, fourteen were for Closing, and in Preston the proportion stood 21 for total closing to one for opening. Is not this enough to make one ashamed of such a plea as that of "robbing a poor man of his beer"? If not, then couple with it the testimony of the most gifted and eminent physicians of the present day, who declare in unqualified and unmistakable language, not only that these drinks produce no good results, but that, to a healthy person especially, they work mischief and disorder; in fact, that not a single drop of alcohol, can be taken into the system without its being injurious. Sir William Gull, Sir Henry Thompson, Sir William Jenner, Dr. Andrew Clarke, Dr. B. W. Richardson, Dr. Norman Kerr, and a host of others, have testified as the result of long professional experience to the appalling ravages of disease and death, and also the fearful minor evils, arising from drink; so much so that one of them exclaims: "When I think of the enormous evil brought about by alcohol, my first impulse is to give up everything, and go forth on a holy crusade, preaching to all men, and crying: 'Beware of the enemy of our race.'"

Let me here anticipate one probable objection which may be raised. It may be contended, "What have these medical opinions and this denunciation of alcohol to do with

Sunday Closing?" I reply that whatever means be used to reduce the sale of such a commodity, and restrict its influence upon mankind, is an argument in favour of our contention; and certainly this will apply with redoubled force, when the working man has his freedom, and time on his hands to do as he likes on the Sunday. So that to stop altogether the purchase and sale of drink on this day, is to remove the temptation out of the reach of the very class who plead earnestly and constantly, that they may be delivered from such a snare. The public-house, to these men, is the greatest temptation into which they are liable, and likely to fall. No one knows this better than the working men themselves, and hence they pray for protection from it, by calling upon the British Parliament to close all such places upon the Lord's Day. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone uttered a great truth, well worth repeating, when he said, "There is no greater superstition than to suppose that intoxicating liquor is necessary to healthy people." So, we say, remove this stumbling-block out of the people's way. A series of powerful reasons for Sunday Closing is supplied by the press of this country, both directly and indirectly, and although time and space forbid our citing them at any length, yet the *Times*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and other leading newspapers of to-day, by their articles and criticisms, help in the grand mission. The *Times* speaks of the diminution of excise as an "encouraging fact," and has, moreover, uttered to the world this warning note: "We must do something towards staying the huge mischief which confounds us all and may crush and ruin any one of us." That "something" means a good deal, when we have already accomplished Sunday Closing for Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

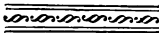
Then what about insurance offices? Do they not also furnish reasons for legislative interference and curtailment. They tell of the alarming mortality of publicans, and their

customers, the former dying at the rate of 59 per 100, in excess of assurers generally. The Insurance Directory says:—"It is notorious amongst insurance officers that innkeepers and publicans are a short-lived class." Some six or eight offices will not insure publicans at any cost, nor their customers either, except the more abstemious among them, and these generally at a very high rate of premium. The necessity for Sunday Closing is vividly seen, when looked at from the need of rest for those employed and engaged in the business. Our Factory Acts prescribe $56\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week, for young persons to work, yet, in provincial towns, many thousands employed in the drink traffic work 108 hours per week, and in London $123\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week. Such figures need no comment, they speak volumes; and altogether apart from the sin of buying and selling on the Sabbath, it must be apparent, upon the ground of common humanity and fellow feeling, that employes cannot possibly bear such a physical strain long. To be worked after such a fashion, is to be treated worse than animals, and, in their case, would lead to a prosecution.

We talk of recreation, mental culture, proper exercise, and so on. What time have the 34,000 persons, employed every Sunday in this service, for such things?

It is nothing but "Work, work, work," seven days every week, all the year round, in mixing, brewing, making, and serving an article which deals out death, and destruction at the rate of 120,000 lives annually, sacrificed and destroyed through this one means. It will be acknowledged that members of Parliament, for the most part, represent the opinions of their constituents, and when they cease to do so others take their places. We have seen how Scotch, Irish, and Welsh members were greatly in favour of Sunday Closing, and that, too, by a very large majority, their voices being "the voice of the people." English members assisted nobly in the passing of these Acts, and are almost

daily being converted to a belief in its general, and widespread adoption throughout the United Kingdom. We have long recognised the equality of persons in regard to law, but we must advance a step, and establish the equality of trades. The equality of persons exists, though, perhaps, not always carried out. The equality of trades, however, does not exist, for we lay at the door of this drink system, nearly the whole of the evils suffered by the working classes of to-day, and not a few of them arising from the special legal facilities, afforded for the sale of intoxicating drinks on Sunday. We are drifting towards entire Sunday Closing throughout all England, and to this end Wales is contributing its quota of influence, and giving freely of its valuable aid. The signs of the times are all in favour of this cheering event; it is looked forward to with feelings of sincere pleasure, the people want it, and they are pressing those in authority to give it them. Look at Cornwall, Durham, Monmouth, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Ipswich, Isle of Wight, The Channel Islands, with many other places far too numerous to mention here, in support of this statement. These are all working hard for this desirable object, hoping ere long to enjoy the benefit of an Act, which has already greatly blest the Principality. We bid them God-speed, and trust speedily to congratulate them upon success.



VII.—RAPID PROGRESS MADE.

IN Chapters 5 and 6 we were obliged, in order the more conclusively to prove our case, to travel outside Wales, giving numerous facts, figures, and statistics from England, Ireland, and Scotland, which so strengthened our position, as to place it beyond the possibility of overthrow. Instead, however, of going any further into the more general grounds for Sunday Closing, I return to the particular "History of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act." Wales felt the pressing and absolute need for Sunday Closing, and determined to have it. A deputation, therefore, was appointed, to wait upon certain Welsh members of Parliament to strongly set forth the wishes of the people. They asked Mr. Henry Richard, the esteemed member for Merthyr, to introduce a Sunday Closing Bill for the Principality. When the idea was made known, members of Parliament smiled—a smile almost amounting to incredulity. Then they suggested that it was a consummation devoutly to be wished, but suggested "Would Parliament be inclined to sanction Home Rule for Wales?" But Mr. John Roberts, M.P. for Flint, did not hesitate to take up the matter, and he set about the work at once. The preliminary steps were taken without delay. These consisted of the usual routine: Public meetings were called, conferences held, memorials got up, petitions largely signed, and members of Parliament interviewed; immense volumes of correspondence were constantly poured in by the constituents to their representatives, and a general canvass of North and South Wales

was instituted, and rapidly taken. The result of all these modes of operation was highly gratifying, and had the effect of immediately convincing all interested, that the desired change would shortly be accomplished. The numbering of the people stood the test in a remarkable manner, being quite unprecedented. On June 30, 1880, Mr. Roberts, M.P., stated in the House of Commons :—

That the result of the house-to-house canvass in North Wales stood as follows :—That of the 101,500 householders of North Wales (which, according to the census of 1871, was the number), returns had been received from 78,600, out of which number 75,666 had gone in for total closing, only 991 being against, and 1,943 remaining neutral, or about 76 to 1 in favour of total closing.

Mr. H. Richard, M.P., on the same occasion stated that :—

The petitions presented from South Wales, with more than 100,000 signatures attached, indicated the same state of opinion, viz., that South like North Wales was in favour of the Bill.

Glamorganshire petitions contained 65,917 signatures, Carmarthenshire over 18,000. A house-to-house canvass made at Cardiff, Merthyr, Swansea, Haverfordwest, Aberystwith, Brecon, and portions of Radnorshire, showed 93 per cent. of the aggregate number of householders in these places, (including publicans) in favour of total closing, and the highly-distinguished and esteemed member for Cardiff, Sir E. J. Reed, stated in the House of Commons :—

That not less than 82 per cent. of the population of Cardiff were in favour of total Sunday Closing, and only 4 per cent. actually against it.

An astonishing feature about the signatures to these petitions is, that of 1,173 publicans who declared their opinions, 792 were in favour of entire Sunday Closing, 152 against, and 229 neutral. In the union of Pwllheli, there voted for entire Sunday Closing 96, and only 1 *against*. In the town of Carnarvon, petitions in favour were signed by 23 publicans, whilst only three voted against; the petition received from

the Local Board of Holyhead, in favour of the Bill, had been moved for, and seconded by, two licensed victuallers. During the first session of 1880 there were received 403 petitions, signed by 175,300 persons, and during the second session of Parliament of the same year, Mr. Roberts stated that 52 more petitions had been received up to June 22, signed by 28,334 persons. In the debate on the second reading, which took place in May, 1881, Mr. Roberts incidentally mentioned that the exact number of signatures to the petitions was 267,000, or more than one-third of the adult population of Wales. No petitions were sent in 1881, excepting from Town Councils, Local Boards, School Boards, Boards of Guardians, and other public bodies; the large number, however, of 250 of these was received in all. We have no desire to heap up statistics, but they are invaluable, and show conclusively how general the desire for Sunday Closing had become throughout Wales.

Merthyr sent petitions in favour signed by 21,450, and showed 5,051 canvass papers sent out, with 4,659 returned for Sunday Closing, 210 against, and 182 neutral. When these returns were classified they revealed the following very striking result:—That of 2,138 collier householders in Aberdare, no less than 1,976 approved of entire Sunday Closing, 91 only opposed, and 71 neutral; of artisan householders, 776 were for closing, 34 against, and 23 neutral; of labourers, hauliers, &c., 659 were for, 28 against, and 24 neutral; of farmers, 33 for (all in the district); of railway servants, 176 for, 10 against, and 14 neutral. Even among the publicans of Aberdare themselves we find 45 for, 28 against, and 12 neutral.

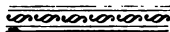
These figures, if they prove anything, certainly prove this, that the people of Wales had made marvellously-rapid progress in their love of temperance, or they never would have called for the measure with such unanimity. The fact is, that the industrial classes, as well as others, had

witnessed for long, long years the horrors of intemperance, and we have seen, further, that those engaged in the very trade, were groaning to be delivered from it for one day in seven, and made an effort to bring about their own release. In response to such a canvass the Welsh Sunday Closing Bill was duly prepared, and it was introduced in the House of Commons on the 6th of February, 1880. The second reading was fixed for April 14th of the same year; but meantime a dissolution of Parliament took place, which occasioned some delay, and, what was even more serious for the speedy passing of the measure, such dissolution necessitated its re-introduction. It was again read a first time on the 21st of May, 1880; the second reading taking place on the 30th of June following, it stood committed on July 1st of the same year, and was, by leave, withdrawn on August 27, 1880. On its coming before the House of Commons next, we find the honoured names of Mr. John Roberts, Mr. Henry Richard, Sir H. H. Vivian, Mr. S. Holland, and Mr. Rathbone, on the back of the Bill. It was read a first time on January 7, 1881; on the 4th of May in the same year Mr. Roberts proposed the second reading, ably stating the case for the Bill and declaring that the great majority of the Welsh people, including five-sixths of the publicans, had voted for it, and most anxiously awaited its passing into law. Mr. Warton, M.P. for Bridport, had notified his intention to move the rejection of the Bill, but did not do so, although he opposed it. Twenty-nine out of the 30 Welsh members of Parliament supported it. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Mr. C. H. James (Merthyr), Mr. Rathbone (Carnarvon), Mr. Osborne Morgan (Denbighshire), Mr. E. H. Carbutt (Monmouth), Mr. Blake (Waterford Co.), Mr. M. Lloyd (Beaumaris), Dr. Kinnear (Donegal), Sir E. J. Reed, and Sir H. H. Vivian, all spoke with earnestness and eloquence in support of the Bill. Mr. Gladstone asked the House to *give kindly attention to the fervent wishes of the people of*

Wales in this matter. When the House divided, the votes were, for the second reading, 163 ; against, 17 ; majority for, 146, or nearly 10 to one in favour of the Bill. It was put down for Committee on the following Friday, but, the block of Parliamentary business, prevented it advancing a stage on that day.

It was then put down for May 13, but with the same result ; then it stood for June 15, on which date it was the fifth order of the day, and was reached precisely at 4.30 in the afternoon. On the motion for going into Committee, Viscount Emlyn spoke in opposition to the Bill. Mr. Warton again turned up ; this time to move the following amendment :—"That the House resolve itself into Committee this day six months to consider the Bill." This was lost by 123 votes to 29, and the Bill then went into Committee. Sir H. S. Giffard, who had been specially requested by the Licensed Victuallers to oppose the Bill at every stage, had been interviewed several times by members of this body, many hailing from Cardiff, and its neighbourhood. They had met him in the Lobby of the House, the Conference Room, and other places, to put before him their views, and to give their instructions, which he received, and which, to the best of his ability, he carried out. He stood ready in Committee to oppose, and did so, but with little effect. The writer also sought, and obtained, interviews with Sir H. S. Giffard, and on one occasion had a lengthy chat with him in the Conference Room of the House of Commons, and it is only fair, and right to Sir Hardinge, to say that he received me very courteously, listened very patiently to the representations made, and expressed himself surprised and astonished at my statements, and at the petition (one of the many which I took up myself) which I placed on the table for his inspection, and after talking the subject over for a considerable time, he said, "Well, Mr. Beavan, I am bound to tell you that what you have related to me, differs entirely from

the statements made by your friends who waited upon me just now, and I can only say that, if your report is correct, and the feeling in Cardiff, Swansea, Merthyr, and other places in Wales be as you have represented and described, then I fear there is very little chance of the other side making out a case, and the Bill will likely pass." Notwithstanding this discussion, however, Sir Hardinge Giffard attempted in Committee, what he told me he had been asked to do, namely, obtain the exemption of Cardiff, Swansea, and Merthyr. He moved, first, the exemption of Cardiff, which was negatived by 118 to 27. Seeing the feeling which existed in the Committee with regard to exemptions, Sir Hardinge proceeded no further, declining to bring forward similar exemptions for Swansea and Merthyr. The Bill passed through Committee, and was reported to the House, amidst loud cheers, at 5.45 p.m., the very moment for closing business. On Monday, June 20th, the Bill came again before the House, when Mr. Thomasson moved an amendment in favour of opening from 12.30 p.m. to 2.30 p.m., which was lost by 81 votes to 32. Captain Aylmer had given notice of an amendment to exempt Rhyl from the operation of the Bill, but did not move it. The Bill thus got through "report," and was put down for third reading on July 6th.



VIII.—FINAL PASSING OF THE BILL.

THE business of the Session of Parliament which tried the fortunes of this Bill was very much impeded by constant interruptions, upon the most flimsy and trivial pretexts, from the "Irish Obstructionists." I do not use the term offensively, but to show the title they earned for themselves, and by which they have since been designated.

This state of things gave rise to grave doubts as to the passing of the Bill through the House during the already far advanced Session. Between the second and third reading I was almost constantly in London, giving all attention and information possible, setting forth the state of feeling in Cardiff, and the Principality, to the best of my knowledge and ability, and furthering matters by interviewing members, and doing what I could to encourage and stimulate them to keep together, for the purpose of securing the passing of the Bill, and, to me, it is a great pleasure that such untiring efforts at length came to a happy termination; altogether some twelve journeys were taken to town, and many weeks spent there, in this interest.

The little party (two in number, Dr. Schölfield having joined me) had occasion to visit Lord Grosvenor at the Treasury Office, where we were received by his lordship in the most courteous manner, and listened to with every attention. At the close of the interviews held we were assured by his lordship that everything in his power should be done, with a view to meet the wishes of the people of Wales relative to Sunday Closing, though, he was sorry to remark, "that the

obstruction caused so very frequently in the House, made it most difficult to predict the fate of the Welsh Sunday Closing Bill, and he could not help but fear the worst in relation to its passing during that Session." His lordship, however, promised to see Mr. Gladstone, and other members of the Government, in order to facilitate the object so earnestly sought. We, also, had interviews with Lord Kensington, Mr. John Roberts, Sir E. J. Reed, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. B. T. Williams, Sir John Jones Jenkins, Sir H. H. Vivian, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. C. H. James, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and several other members, who deserve the highest praise for the patience and forbearance they exercised, and for the valuable suggestions they made. They also worked energetically to push forward the Bill. All these right hon. and hon. members live in our grateful remembrance for the active part they played in this matter, and, but for these and some few others, the Welsh Sunday Closing Act would not be law to-day. I remember, with liveliest gratitude, the many kindnesses received at the hands of these M.P.'s, and the encouragements they held out to us to persevere in our efforts to obtain the Act.

So great was the interest aroused, and the influence brought to bear, that Mr. Bright, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Sir W. V. Harcourt, and the Premier, all cheerfully rendered their assistance. While this was going on in London, gentlemen of influence and ability were doing excellent service at home, and in Cardiff, Swansea, Merthyr, and elsewhere, they were busy in addressing large gatherings, passing resolutions, and sending up communications to fortify the contingent in London. Foremost in this campaign were to be found Mr. Lewis Williams, Messrs. John and Richard Cory, Mr. W. T. Raper, Mr. F. J. Beavan, Rev. N. Thomas, Mr. W. L. Daniel, Mr. John Bowen, Mr. Thos. Williams, J.P., and Rev. Thos. Evans, of Merthyr, Dr. Rawlings, Alderman Davies, of Swansea, &c. These laboured incessantly among

the people, and upon the platform, and also in writing, to keep well-posted members of Parliament, who were waiting, with much anxiety, to secure a chance for the third reading of the Bill.

On July 9th, 1881, Mr. Lewis Williams, in a speech delivered in Cardiff to 2,000 people, ably pleaded for the Bill, and recounted the fact that all the clergy of the Church of England had signed in favour of it. Father Richardson had signed on behalf of himself and the Catholic clergy; and, moreover, nearly every member of the medical profession in Cardiff had signed petitions in its favour. In a speech made by my brother, Mr. F. J. Beavan, to a crowded Blue Ribbon meeting held in Cardiff, he read a letter from Mr. Gladstone acknowledging full sympathy with the Bill, and holding out a strong hope of its passing that Session. In the *Western Mail* of July 7th, 1881, appeared a letter from Mr. Lewis Williams, which is a most able defence of the petitions in favour of the Bill, and proudly tells us that the Very Rev. the Dean of Llandaff (Dr. Vaughan) had signed a petition in favour of Sunday Closing for Wales.

There was, also, a very important memorial in its favour, signed by the pilots of Swansea, and sent to Sir H. H. Vivian, with a strong letter from the pen of Mr. William Rosser, pilot, of that port, and dated 41, Pier Street, Swansea, June 13, 1881. Two long months dragged their anxious days and weary weeks through, during which time every available moment was devoted to improving the chances of passing the Bill. Little rest was taken, for it was soon discovered that not a single opportunity was to be lost in such a critical crisis. I have before me the *Western Mail*, *South Wales Daily News*, and the weekly local papers, all of which record the work we were doing in the Lobby of the House and in London at this time; and, although the *Western Mail* ventured, perhaps amusingly and good-naturedly, to speak of us and our mission as ill-timed and ill-advised, yet

we were credited for our indefatigable exertions, and well spoken of because of the courage displayed, the zeal and unremitting attention given so ungrudgingly, with no reward, except a good conscience, and the knowledge that we were cheerfully endeavouring, amid many discouragements, to do something for the good of our country. It is said that hope deferred maketh the heart sick.

The time at length arrived when expectation was wrought up to its highest pitch, by the announcement that a great effort was being made to obtain for the Bill its final reading, and on each day of the week ending August 20th, 1881, this was aimed at. The opponents of the Bill had left the field, tired out, as well they might be, after waiting so long for the final issue. They declared the time too far gone to admit of the measure coming before Parliament again during the expiring hours of that Session. We shook hands with several of our Cardiff friends—the Licensed Victuallers—for whom we have great respect, and wish them well—well out of their present calling and into a better. As we bade them good-bye and farewell for a short season, they chaffingly remarked, “Good-bye, and farewell to the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, for you will not see it through;” and so they left us alone in our glory. The suspense was great, even painful; day by day, and all through the sleepy, dreamy hours of night, up to four and five o’clock in the morning, we remained at our post, eager to catch the faintest ray of hope from members who had pledged themselves to watch, with keenest scent, the first moment available to move the third reading. The anxiety became intense, the last week of the Session was wearing rapidly away. Thursday came; nothing done. Friday saw the like result. Saturday opened with no better prospects; the hours were fast gliding by. Four o’clock was reached, and just then closer observation revealed the truth that something special and unusual was likely to take place. The House presented an excited scene, for it

was feared, through the opposition of the day, they would not rise until after Saturday had run out. Rumour said it was likely Sunday would find the House still sitting. Think of it: Sunday to break in upon the deliberations of our Senators and Senate House. Well, perhaps it might be said, "Better the day, better the deed," and as our own lips ejaculated the words of the same proverb, the thought flashed across our mind, what if, after all, the Welsh Sunday Closing Bill should pass in the small hours of the Sabbath. We could not help feeling that it would be about one of the best uses to which the House could be put, or its members engaged and detained. From twelve o'clock noon on the Saturday, Mr. Gladstone was seen to go in and out of the House often, and surprise was expressed at his being present that day, for it was known that he intended leaving town to enjoy a short, well-earned rest. His desire to serve Wales, however, on this occasion was his first thought, and, waiving every other consideration, he was in his place all that day and night. Eight, nine, ten, and even eleven o'clock came, and yet there was very little visible sign, but at 11.15 a rustle was heard and a movement made on the side near to where the champion of the Bill sat. In another moment Mr. John Roberts was on his feet, and this time to move the third reading of the Welsh Sunday Closing Bill. He will forgive me passing an eulogy upon him, the brave, plucky Welshman, chosen by the people of Flint. He is every inch a man—one of indomitable perseverance and undaunted courage.

This grand piece of legislation will ever be associated with his name, to his honour and renown. By it he has enshrined himself in the hearts and affections of a grateful people. The name of John Roberts will be handed down to posterity. To him Welshmen are largely indebted for snapping the fetters which had bound some of them to the

terrible evil habit of Sunday drinking, and to him they now thankfully turn as being their deliverer.

We do not hesitate to say that because of this deed—one only of many glorious achievements he has been instrumental in bringing about—the historian will give him a prominent place in the record of the worthies yet to be written, and history will account him famous, perhaps chiefly for the gallant and laudable endeavour to effectually unloose the people from the curse of the liquor traffic in the Principality, and rid them of it entirely upon the Sunday.

On the third reading of the Bill Mr. Warton stepped forth upon the scene again, as irrepressible as ever, determined to oppose. He moved forward from a back seat where he had been comfortably ensconced to the front Opposition bench, from which position he challenged the Bill, and opened fire in his own well-known and peculiar style, which however, did him anything but credit, and gained for him only a very partial hearing. Sir Hardinge Giffard also opposed, and once more endeavoured to move as an amendment the exemption of Cardiff. This was done in a dignified and gentlemanly manner, with little bitterness interwoven, altogether a striking contrast to the manner exhibited and the remarks made by the member for Bridport. Then came Mr. Gladstone's turn, who, in a few well-chosen sentences, administered a scathing rebuke to Mr. Warton, which was felt to be all the more severe and cutting because it had been partly occasioned by his own conduct in leaving his seat and coming to the front Opposition bench to speak. It was highly amusing also to watch him during the castigation quietly retreating, under the smart of such a reproof, to his old place. Mr. Gladstone, proceeding, said :—" I am glad to have the honour of supporting this Bill, and have remained in town, at some personal inconvenience, on purpose to do so." Then he referred to the triumphant division in its favour on the 15th of June previously, and also to the fact

that, after trial, Ireland was unfavourable to exemptions, and would undoubtedly ask for a Bill for the whole of Ireland when the temporary measure came to be renewed, and, continuing, said :—"The Welsh, as far as I have ever had the means of judging, are, upon the whole, and especially as you come upon the poor Welsh, a very sober people. You may say that, if they are a very sober people, they are less in need of this Bill. Yes, that may be true, but is that a reason why this Bill should not be passed? Is there no such thing as the temptation to drunkenness? If the condition of the people in regard to the use of spirituous liquors has been improved to such a point that they are, almost without exception, desirous to set aside the temptation, would it not be a cruel thing, on the part of Parliament, if we, on the invitation of honourable members who do not represent Wales and have no title to speak on its behalf, were to refuse to set that temptation aside?" This seemed sufficient, for the Bill was read a third time and passed without a division. In a few minutes more, and by 11.45 on Saturday night, August 20, 1881, members and friends were found in the Lobby of the House shaking hands with each other indiscriminately, and joining in hearty congratulations upon what had just taken place. At midnight Mr. John Roberts telegraphed to Lord Aberdare the good news, at the same time asking him to return to town and take charge of the Bill in the House of Lords. His lordship immediately responded, setting off for London on Monday morning. Its passage through the House of Lords was rapid, its progress being unopposed. It was read a first time as early as Monday, August 22; a second time the following day. On the 24th it passed through Committee, and on the 25th it was read a third time and passed. Two days later, viz., August 27th, it received the Royal Assent, and was placed upon the Statute Book of this country as the law of the land. Both sides of the House of Lords gave it

their unqualified and unanimous support, and it passed easily through its necessary stages in four days ; a pleasant and agreeable contrast to the seven months during which its friends had patiently watched its progress through the House of Commons.

Of course, everybody is aware that, owing to the long and unexpected delay in passing the Bill, the publicans who had obtained licences prior to its receiving the Royal Assent would not come under the operation of the Act until the next year, so that practically it did not come into active operation until September, 1882, though no doubt its promoters, seeing the measure passed through Committee as early as June, expected it would apply to the Brewster Sessions of August and September, 1881, but this was not the case.

Though long waited for, deliverance at length came ; the indictment against the business had over and over again been written in tears and blood, and hands were imploringly uplifted to heaven in praying attitude, and voices rang out loud, clear, and most pathetic, asking, nay, unitedly demanding, that something be immediately done to reduce, or remove altogether, the cause of so much appalling mischief of various kinds being perpetrated on the Sabbath Day through the influence of public-houses. In response to such an earnest desire, the "Welsh Sunday Closing Bill" was passed. We have it in force to-day, and instead of its being accounted an "abominable measure," the verdict already given, and which is almost daily being confirmed, is that the Welsh Sunday Closing Act has proved to be one of the most beneficent measures granted in the Principality for many years past.

IX.—VALUABLE TESTIMONIES BY EMINENT MEN.

I COME now to the very important work of telling of the success of this Act—not from my own point of view, but from the lips and pens of eminent men throughout the Principality, and from sources which will be quite sufficient to prove that already it has fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of nearly all its ardent supporters. The extracts I shall give will prove my authority for saying this much, and those I shall quote from, I am sure, will be considered undoubted witnesses, hence their evidence will, I think, be beyond all possibility of successful contradiction. Before coming to these, however, I have an explanation to make which is absolutely necessary, and must be made before I proceed further. Some time in the early part of last year a small pamphlet was sent out from the Cardiff Press, upon the cover of which was printed the following :—“The Welsh Sunday Closing Act.—An epitome of opinions as to its operation from local public bodies, the clergy, head constables, and others.” This pamphlet was designed to show the utter failure, from the writer’s point of view, of this Act, though its title page would indicate that it was a treatise in favour of the measure ; and no doubt there was a distinct object on the part of those who issued it in printing such upon the outside cover. Among other reasons, I daresay that they thought within themselves that such a

title would make the little work appear very much like a pamphlet in defence of the Act, which would have the effect of gaining for it a rapid sale, and thereby ensure its being read. Another method, by the way, of victimising the public. It is no secret now to say, and no credit to prophesy after the event, that the bait did not take, for, after nearly a whole year, the masses to-day scarcely know of the existence of such a work, its circulation being of the most limited character. A great number of copies might have been given away, and that this was the case I readily believe, because by so doing a lingering hope remained in the minds of those responsible for the pamphlet that it might do, even yet, some good, but their hopes have not, in this case, been realised. It totally failed in its purpose, and disappointed those who brought it out. I bought several copies, and distributed them amongst my temperance friends, hence I might be accused of innocently assisting to diffuse the contents of this book. Upon carefully reading it through, I found it to be a collection of material not worth the time spent upon perusing it.

At first it was contemplated to write a reply, but the idea of fighting a shadow, and contending with a pamphlet which carried its own refutation upon the face of it was at once abandoned.

Nevertheless, we determined upon writing to the greatest authorities in Wales, asking them to give us their knowledge and experience of the working and operations of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, and these I shall proceed to quote. It is only right, however, to say this much on behalf of the work alluded to—that, probably, but for it we should not have been stimulated to obtain the opinions of those we are about to give, and in this sense the Licensed Victuallers have done the measure, which we defend, good service by prompting us to increased activity in seeking testimonies. I say “Licensed Victuallers” because it was they who made

up and got out this pitiable lame and hopeless attempt to defend the Sunday traffic in liquor.

In publishing the testimonies, I have no authority to use the names and addresses of those who so kindly furnished me with evidence, but I will number each, and assure your readers that they all live in Wales. I have their letters in my possession, duly dated and signed. The reason I cannot divulge the names is simply because, when I wrote to these gentlemen, I never for a moment contemplated writing the "History of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act." I will commence by referring, first, to several utterances which have been publicly made and ought to be recalled, as they are important and valuable. For the benefit of the Welsh nation and the world, Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., called some few months ago for a return to be laid upon the table of the House of Commons as to drunkenness in Wales. He was anxious to test the working of the Act, and remove the false impressions conveyed to the public mind through certain organs as to the state of drunkenness in the Principality. It had been asserted over and over again in some quarters that the increase in drunkenness was fearful, that shutting up public-houses, turning off all taps, bolting and barring the door of every licensed house, and forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquor on the Sunday had, forsooth, caused such a terrible increase in drunkenness that Wales, of all places, had become a very pandemonium. This return was called for; and what did it show? Why this, "that drunkenness in Wales had decreased nearly 9 per cent." What, I ask, is the use of flaunting in our faces such announcements as "great and terrible increase in drunkenness in Wales upon the Sabbath?" Such will not bear the light of reason; and we hope yet to have the opportunity of showing the folly and weakness of making use of such a scare. We remember well, when a division took place upon this Bill in Parliament, of the Conservative

Welsh members 50 per cent. voted against the Bill. Awful, dreadful! But what did it mean? Wales could count in all two Conservative members, out of which one voted against the Bill, and even this one did not oppose it upon its third reading.

Figures in skilful hands may be so manipulated as to prove almost anything. Suppose we accept for one moment, and just for the sake of argument, the statement that has been made, viz., that last year there was an increase of 60 per cent. in drunkenness. This year it is said that there is an increase of 46 per cent. This shows that we are getting on, and that we can rejoice over a decrease of 14 per cent. We have established out of the mouth of our opponents the truth that the longer the Act is in force the more will be seen its good effects. It has been further said that "Wales will become, ere long, as drunken as Ireland or Scotland." Only a chapter or two back we clearly showed how very much less drink is consumed in these countries, and how crime has greatly diminished. We could quote quite an array of additional figures to prove this. Ireland saved in its drink bill alone in 1880 over 1877 no less than £2,995,112, and I could bring many similar facts, startling in the highest degree, but all in favour of Sunday Closing.

Let me give you a second public testimony. Sir Edward Reed says:—"Sunday Closing in Wales has already proved an immense boon to the people, and I believe much good will come from such legislation, and those most benefitted will probably be the publicans themselves."

A third public testimony of vital importance and great weight is that of the learned stipendiary of Swansea (Mr. J. C. Fowler), who, in open court, last March, gave utterance to the following significant words, which have been handed on throughout Wales and the kingdom as language of undoubted authority, used with telling effect in the House of Commons by the present Home Secretary (Sir W. V.

Harcourt :—Mr. Fowler says “his experience for many months past is that the Act has been working beneficially, because on Monday mornings now they scarcely ever have a case of Sunday drinking before them. Whether that was to be attributed to the working of the Sunday Closing Act he could not say, but he thought it was a fair inference to be drawn, when they used, formerly, to have a good many cases on Monday mornings, whereas, for the past six weeks, he thought they had had scarcely half a dozen cases.”

Side by side with these public deliverances, I may fairly put forward, in proof of the success of the Act, that since the measure was passed, mayors of Cardiff and other Welsh towns have been presented over and over again with a pair of white gloves in token of the fact that there have been no prisoners to try. This kind of triumph was seldom known until recent years, especially in such large towns as Cardiff, Swansea, Merthyr, &c. Captains of vessels and seamen visiting Cardiff after a long absence, and contrasting the town before and after the Act, declare its condition to be so wonderfully improved that they have been perfectly astonished at the change for the better. The condition of the streets, the order and quiet which prevail, the absence of the rowdyism and disgraceful scenes which so frequently met the gaze in times past, have so changed the aspect that they have scarcely recognised Cardiff. This applies to many other places very easy to name. It is, moreover, generally admitted that churches and chapels, Sunday Schools, and mission halls, are much better attended, a spirit of anxious inquiry has been awakened in the hearts of the people after better things, domestic happiness and peace obtains to a larger extent, the Christian Sabbath is far more religiously observed, and the social, moral, commercial, and spiritual condition of the people raised. In the colliery districts, such as the Rhondda, Merthyr, Aberdare, and Ogmore Valleys, work at collieries, iron-works, tin-works, and other

large industries, instead of being suspended, as was frequently the case through Sunday drinking by the workmen, is now started on Monday mornings with a regularity almost unknown before; besides, the people in the surrounding Hill districts are elevated to a position of comfort never occupied or enjoyed previously.

Testimony No. 1 comes from a very high dignitary of the Church of England, the mention of whose name would at once carry with it profound respect. Writing, March 29th, 1884, he says:—"You know full well how much I sympathise with the great object in view. With regard to the operation of the particular measure, I am inclined to hope favourably of the effects of the Act."

No. 2. Another distinguished clergyman, holding a foremost appointment in the Establishment, writing May 30th, 1884, says:—"My opinion of the Sunday Closing Act has undergone no change. If time be allowed it, it is one of the most beneficial Acts, affecting the morals and well-being of the rising generation, that we have had for some years. It may have but partially benefitted the confirmed drunkard, but it will materially lessen the number that join his ranks. Shall the flood-gates now closed be open again because men who cannot control their passions kick against them? Must they be removed because subtle attempts are made to undermine them? Let not Wales lose its Sunday Closing Act. England is moving in this direction. My experience of the respectable Licensed Victuallers of the country is that they, in their own interest, favour the Act. I should tell you that in the town of — we largely feel the beneficial results of the passing of this Act."

No. 3, a vicar of an important parish, writing May 30th, 1884, says:—"I cordially approve of the men and women, the very best and greatest in the land, who, by a universal Sunday Closing Act, want to strike at a pernicious trade monopoly, and help their fellow men to a nobler and

manlier observance of the best of days. I have warmly at heart the objects of your association, and have written to show the high appreciation of the good work yourself and your colleagues have been so long, and I may add, so successfully, doing."

No. 4, also a vicar of a very important parish, writes March 31st, 1884 :—"I am very glad to find that you have gone to London to support the passing of the Sunday Closing Bill for England. I hold that Sunday Closing in Wales has proved beneficial in practice, and I am told that even in Cardiff there is now a great improvement in the observance of the Lord's Day since the introduction of the Bill, and I have no doubt that, taking the whole of Wales, there has been a great change for the better. In my parish the evils of Sunday drinking were very apparent, but such a sight is never witnessed now."

A clergyman living in the Rhondda Valley (not a teetotaler) told me a few days ago that a great improvement had taken place among the toiling masses in those great hives of industry since the passing of the Bill, and similar testimony has reached me from other parts of the country.

No. 5 is from a learned Professor of a College, and an able, popular minister, who says, "My experience is that there is much less drunkenness amongst the poorer classes, and that there would be much less if the police authorities did not wink at infringements of the law; an immense majority of cases referred to by present opponents exists because of the unfaithfulness of the police authorities, or because of the loophole afforded to determined sots by the *bond fide* traveller clause."

No. 6, an ex-mayor, and now J.P. of a very large borough, says, March 31st, 1884, "As mentioned this afternoon, it is in those centres of population, removed from existing arrangements under the old system, that the beneficial effects will be experienced of the Welsh Sunday Closing

Act, and when the Act is extended to England as well it will be a great advantage to society at large, but the poorer classes in particular."

The liquor traffic is known full well to be a curse upon industry, carrying ruin and death in its train, chiefly, alas! amongst those who are the very backbone of the British Empire—the working-men—unfortunately, destroying the hopes and sacrificing the lives of tens of thousands annually. Who can realise the awful truth that we have living in our midst, always floating about us, and, for the most part, in rags and tatters, diseased and crime-hardened, the appalling number, at the very lowest computation, of 600,000 drunkards, and as soon as one tumbles over the edge of the tremendous precipice on the verge of which he has been suspended, another takes his place, and in this lamentable way the ranks are kept constantly filled up, until to-day half a million English homes are broken into by this fiend, their peace and happiness destroyed, comfort and joy quenched, the finer feelings of their nature cursed and stamped out, family ties snapped, hearts left lacerated and bleeding, and the hearths of merry England completely wrecked by the drink demon. Are not these things, dreadful as they are, so many arguments and testimonies in favour of Sunday Closing and of lessening the evil by one-seventh? Think of our country, this fair land, over which Queen Victoria has so long and righteously reigned, and over which we hope she may be spared very many years yet to sway her sceptre and live in the hearts and affections of a loyal people—think of our country and countrymen, I say, being regularly stigmatised with the foul epithet, the frightful meaning of which we have never fully gauged, as they hurl at us the words, from almost every nation under heaven, "Drunk as an Englishman!" which short sentence comprehends and implies a depth of degradation we have yet to fathom, and which we blush to think of as we raise the cry,

“O, Lord! how long shall such a state of things exist?” Would to God England were as good as she is great. The dominion over which her most gracious Majesty presides is one upon which the sun never sets—vast, glorious and free; and yet within herself are the very elements which crush the life out of her people, and produce more mischief than the accumulated and combined evils of war, pestilence, and famine. Proceeding with the Testimonies from Eminent Men, No. 7 is dated June 16th, 1884, and is from a vicar of a well-known parish, who is an eloquent preacher and very highly esteemed. He says:—“I am glad you have undertaken the task of replying to the statements, prejudicial to the Sunday Closing Act, made by persons interested in the liquor traffic. The opponents invariably cite Cardiff as a proof that the Act has been a conspicuous failure. I trust, therefore, you will succeed in bringing a mass of evidence together such as will convince reasonable people that closing houses in which intoxicating liquors are sold has not caused an increase of drunkenness. Upon principle I am an advocate of Sunday Closing, and am convinced also that the Sunday Closing Bill, as in Scotland and Ireland, will prove most beneficial in practice. I have been told by disinterested persons that throughout the country generally there has been a marked improvement since the passing of the Bill.” No. 8, dated June 2nd, 1884, is from an alderman of a borough, also an ex-mayor of the same place, and a justice of the peace:—“The good results of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act are too transparent for all unprejudiced observers to fail to see its effects. There is not one-half of the Sunday drinking here as used to be.” No. 9, dated June 17th, 1884, from an incumbent of a new and prosperous church, says:—“I am thoroughly convinced that from personal observation the Welsh Sunday Closing Act is far from a failure in this parish. I have good reason for coming to this conclusion after closely watching those who reside in

this working-class neighbourhood. I am pleased to state that from the day of the Act coming into force several who used to make the public-house their resort on the Sabbath now attend my church." No. 10 is from a Baptist minister, and dated September 23rd, 1884. He says, "I have much pleasure in bearing my testimony to the beneficial influence of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act. Since it came into operation we have been permitted to spend our Sundays without much annoyance from the effects of strong drink. The unpleasant scenes which often greeted our eyes as we passed along the streets have, to a great extent, been discontinued. Instead of being disturbed by the noise of drunken men and women, we have the privilege of walking to the House of God in peace and tranquility. Two of the most regular attendants at our Sunday services are publicans, and their testimony is that the Welsh Sunday Closing Act has conferred a great boon upon them and their families." No. 11 is from a Wesleyan superintendent minister of great experience. Writing September 16th, 1884, he says:—"The Sunday Closing Act has undoubtedly proved a great boon to this town; its operation has effected a very marked improvement in the peace and order of the streets on Sundays. Perhaps there is no part of the town where the improvement is more marked than at the Docks. Now it is a rare thing to meet a drunken person in this part of the town on the Lord's Day." No. 12 is from a Welsh minister of a very large town, and is dated June 6th, 1884. He says:—"The Sunday Closing Act has doubtless been a great benefit to this town; that is clear to every unbiassed mind that will compare the state of our streets after the Act with the state of things which prevailed prior to that time. The verdict of 9-10ths of the people must be in favour of the Act, for it has wrought a wonderful improvement; this is the case also in the outlying districts." No. 13 is from an old town missionary, very diligent in his work, and much

respected by all classes. He writes June 15th, 1884 :—" I have been living in one of the lowest parts of the town for nearly ten years. Before the Act I frequently saw men and women sitting on the pavement of a Sunday evening drinking beer from a jug and teacup, and many the worse for drink, with frightful rows and smashing of glass. Now such scenes are unknown. I say emphatically that there is no comparison between the present and before the Act came into force. I know that many landlords, with their families, are thankful for the opportunity of going to a place of worship without having their minds distracted with the business on their return." No. 14, a justice of the peace of long experience, writing May 28th, 1884 :—" I am satisfied that the Sunday Closing Act has been a great boon and a blessing to us at——. Drunkenness on the Lord's Day throughout the town and district has considerably decreased. Enclosed is a copy of return sent me by the deputy chief-constable, which shows a decrease in the number of persons proceeded against for drunkenness as follows :—From 1st of October, 1881, to September 29th, 1882, total proceeded against, 153 ; from October 1st, 1882, to September 29th, 1883, total proceeded against, 95 ; decrease in one year, 58." No. 15 is from a justice of the peace. Writing March 31st, 1884, he says : " Enclosed you will receive official statement from the magistrates' clerk as to cases before the bench for drunkenness last six weeks. The fact that only five were tried for drunkenness the last six Sabbaths is evidence that the Act has not been a failure, and comment is unnecessary. Only two men have really been fined for drunkenness on the Sunday during the last six weeks, and to talk of an increase of 50 per cent. is as absurd as it is absolutely false." No. 16 is from a deservedly popular Welsh minister, who writes June 7th, 1884, and says :—" I have every reason to believe that the Sunday Closing Act for Wales has been a great boon and blessing to the Principality. I have made many

inquiries of the leading men in several towns and villages in every county in the Principality, and in almost every case the reply has been in the affirmative. I have had pointed out to me many a time, and in many places, men and women—old and young—who used to spend their time on the Sunday in the public-house, and were unable to work on Monday, and half-starving before the end of the week, with their children in rags; but now they are sober, steady, religious and respected. I have seen improved congregations on the Lord's Day in several places of worship, and observation and personal experience lead me to say that already the Act has proved a great blessing." No. 17 is from an ex-mayor and alderman of an important borough, also a justice of the peace. He says, writing March 30th, 1884: "There can be no doubt as to its beneficial effect, and none but those who are blinded by their own self-interest would dare deny it. As to any influence in the direction of 'repeal,' it is too contemptible to speak about; it would create such a storm in Wales as would shake any Government, and that principally by the working men themselves." No. 18 is from a Welsh Calvinistic minister, who, writing May 27th, 1884, says:—"The closing of public-houses on the Sunday sends many to the house of God. Rhondda Valley is a different place now on the Sabbath, and the workmen are eager to start work on Monday. I know the Act is a great boon to Wales." No 19 is from a justice of the peace, who, writing March 31st, 1884, says:—"The Welsh Sunday Closing Act, in its working, has undoubtedly been a great blessing to Wales, and will be made a greater blessing still when the English Closing Bill is passed." No. 20, an alderman of a borough, writing April 1st, 1884, says:—"It is with pleasure that I testify to the beneficial working of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act. I have good reason for stating that crime and convictions have diminished, churches and chapels are better attended, the streets of our

town more orderly and quiet, and the homes of the people better cared for." No. 21 is from a very large colliery proprietor, who says, April 1st, 1884 :—" We employ at — Colliery about 2,400 men. Our experience distinctly is that we get considerably more work done on Mondays and Tuesdays since the Sunday Closing Act passed." No. 22 is from a mayor of an important borough, and dated March 31st, 1884 :—" The Welsh Sunday Closing Act, I have no hesitation in saying, has proved a great boon to this town." No. 23 is from a well-known minister, who, writing on the same date as the last testimony given, says :—" I have no doubt whatever upon my own mind that the Principality upon the whole has been greatly benefitted by the Act, and I have been told by a leading minister in Wales and chairman of an important district that the congregations at Mountain Ash and other places have been increased 50 per cent." No. 24 is from a Presbyterian minister, dated March 28th, 1884, who declares " That the Welsh Sunday Closing Act has been in the district of Pontypridd, Rhondda, and many other places well-known to me a grand success."

No. 25 is a member of the county police force, who states that his experience of the Act is, " that in less than two years of its operation I am convinced that the good effected is beyond my ability to fully describe, and in connection with the particular duties I am called upon to perform, and the beat I have to constantly travel, it would need that you were as fully acquainted with the condition of this part of the country as I am, and have been for many years before the passing of the Act, in order for you to fully realise the marked improvement which has taken place since." No 26 is from an old member of the county constabulary, one who has seen many years of active service, and been rewarded several times with promotion. He says :—" In my district the passing of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act has reduced my work and trouble by more than one-half ; and if I were

only at liberty to speak out and say all I know, I could tell a tale of my own experience of its benefits such as would astonish you to hear ; but, owing to the position I occupy, I cannot well publicly say in regard to this what I should like to, but I do know that my district presents an entirely different aspect for the better to what it did before the Act was passed." No. 27 is from a sea captain, who says :—"I have been sailing almost all over the world since my last visit to Cardiff, and I find on my return here that you have Sunday closing of public-houses in force. As I and my wife walked from the Docks to town the change was so great, the order and quiet prevailing in your streets so entirely different to what my former recollections of Cardiff were, that I began to think that I had made a mistake ; for the Cardiff of former days and now bear such a contrast that I am warranted in saying I scarcely recognise it as being the same."

I have now given 27 testimonies, and surely have no need to quote any more, although, if at all necessary, I could go on to a hundred, and could obtain, on the shortest notice, testimonies, trustworthy and genuine, from hundreds more. I ought to say that several from whom I have quoted are gentlemen employing many hundreds, and in some cases several thousands, of men.

I have also left out testimonies from public bodies, such as the Congregational and Baptist Union Meetings, the Quarterly Meetings of the Calvinistic Methodists, and many others. It generally happens that such meetings are reported, though I fear not always, and especially not when dealing with this question, and with strong resolutions in favour of Sunday Closing recording the vast benefits of the measure, &c.

X.—CLUBS AND THE BONÂ FIDE TRAVELLER CLAUSES.

I NOW proceed to the consideration of the "clubs question," and also to remark upon the *Bonâ Fide* Traveller Clauses, in their relation to, and as they affect, the "History of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act," its operation and working; and, no doubt, such a chapter will be fitting and timely, perhaps more especially just now since so much has been said, and so often, concerning these institutions, and the charge hurled at the promoters of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act that their existence and perpetuation in our midst is due to this piece of excellent legislation, and that we are responsible for all the mischief arising from clubs being planted "to the right and to the left of us." Our opponents are certainly at times very unscrupulous indeed, for they level all sorts of missiles at us, and try to saddle us with the onus of all wrong-doing in regard to anything and everything, trivial or serious, which takes place on the Sabbath, putting it down somehow or in some way to this Act of Parliament, so obnoxious to them, and upon which they are often found pouring out their torrent of abuse and contempt to their hearts' content, and hence we are made the target to shoot at for having advocated, and laboured long and hard to bring to pass, such a measure. Well, I, for one, have no qualms of conscience about accepting the position, and will endeavour to show that they, and not we, are more in fault, and that at their doors lies a large share of the responsibility, while we shall be able to

clear ourselves entirely. They make sport and fun of the abominable club system, as at present carried on, because, forsooth, they imagine that by so doing they annoy and fret us ; but we have more serious business on hand than to look on merely and charge home the evil upon any individual or society. Our business is to get rid of the clubs, blot them out. And in this we are in downright earnest. Our anxiety is to utterly demolish these clubs, and so alter the clauses in the law affecting *bond fide* travellers, that in this alone it is plainly seen we indignantly repudiate the charge of having any connection with, or being in the slightest degree parties to, the birth, or continuance of either, or any such anomalies. If this were not our intention we should not be found using the means we have been for over twelve months, and at considerable expense, to abolish these irregularities. However much exposed to criticism, I dare hazard the opinion that in this year of grace, 1885, all clubs are more or less unnecessary ; and, further, are more or less an evil, because so exposed and liable to abuse and various kinds of extravagance, arising from the very nature of their existence and the basis upon which they are founded. The difficulties to cope with are so varied and peculiar that, unless the strictest observance is kept over such establishments, and the utmost care taken to prevent what is unseemly and unbecoming, it will amount to little short of a miracle if they do not prove injurious in their effects. It does not matter for my purpose by what name they are designated—National or International, social or more general, Liberal or Conservative, West End, County, Reform, or what not. I have my own views, and do not hesitate to say that they are quite needless, and often the source of danger, which, but for their existence, would never occur. I do not forget that we have grown to think clubs are absolutely essential, and am sorry such a belief so widely and extensively prevails in

this nineteenth century. I know, moreover, that very many will be opposed to my line of thought, in relation to these places, and I shall probably be charged with reasoning from false premises and upon slippery ground, but I cannot help this, and claim a right to my own opinions until convinced otherwise, and wish to accord to others the freedom of thought I exercise myself. Of course, if clubs are established, and men will have them, so be it; but I do ask that, in the interest of public order, morality, and good living, special attention of the most painstaking kind should be observed to ensure that they be formed upon sound principles, and governed upon such lines as to be above suspicion. I need scarcely interpose here that in my own opinion this is well nigh impossible.

Careful as members and managers may be, the tendency to go beyond the legitimate bounds of propriety is very great, and those responsible have a difficult task to perform. This teaching may be, and, no doubt, will be, considered very advanced, especially by those ever ready to raise the question and cry, "What could we do without them?" Let the quiet comfort of your own home be your "club," your fireside your place of resort as often as possible, especially in the evening, and your wife and family be the members enrolled; let the cheery hearth be the place of meeting, around which you shall constantly gather for mutual improvement, and the perfecting of those domestic ties by which you are already bound, the cementing of the loving bonds which knit you so closely together. These things cannot fail to have a tendency to elevate and bless all who are thus engaged, and upon those so found will come "the blessing of them that are ready to perish," and who have been yearning for such a sacred union as this, which for long, long years has been sadly neglected. To the many whose duties and business call them often from home I would say seek the quiet, comfortable accommodation

which is to be found in almost every town of any importance up and down the country. Let me here and now, plainly and positively, in unqualified language, and with all the power and vigour I possess, denounce these spurious, bogus clubs, which are but "colourable imitations," and barely that, of the better class of clubs. I have not the slightest sympathy with them or their promoters, and should rejoice to see every one of them entirely swept away to-morrow. I advocate their being dealt with in the most summary manner, having meted out to them the severest punishment, and go in for their complete annihilation. Further, we protest against these clubs as being pest, lazar houses, corrupting the morals of our youth and adult population, degrading them to the very lowest level and producing all that is abhorrent, filthy and leprous in those who, but for these horrid dens, might otherwise be kind, virtuous, and even godly members of society. I do not demur to say that they are unfair and an injustice to the licensed victualler, and he has cause of complaint arising from these clubs, not, mark you, arising from the Welsh Sunday Closing Act. But no wonder at all the licensed victuallers feel hurt and injured by them, a strong reason why they should help to put them down. It has been said "How can I vote for shutting up the poor working man's club while the Reform Club, for instance, remains open?" There are many answers which could be given to this, but here is one plain and simple reply which ought in itself to be sufficient—the former, as seen around us, bears no resemblance or comparison to the latter; neither has it anything in common with it. Those who visit the Reform Club do not do so at the expense of food kept from broken-hearted wives and neglected, starving children; but these spurious and bogus clubs are largely supported at this terrible cost. They slaughter the innocent, those whom men have sworn to cherish, love, and protect; and visit with untimely death the victims of brutality and cruelty too shocking to

write about, and beyond the power of endurance. No doubt these clubs are places of resort for mere drinking purposes and evading the law. And would to God this was the worst we could say about them, but it is not; they are sinks of iniquity, physical and moral slaughter houses, where the most frightful depravity is engendered, and where passion and appetite, filthy and lewd conduct is allowed to run riot without curb or restraint, the result and outcome of all this being a multitude of evils which overtake individuals and surround the homes, destroying, often for ever, the peace and happiness of those who were at one time, and would be now but for the clubs we are trying to describe, among the most respectable and respected of our fellowmen. That these houses are direct offences against the law really goes without saying, and the law, as it at present stands, we believe to be quite capable of dealing with them; and it would be well, perhaps, if our advice were taken, and a combined action made at once to put them down.

Surely this is a field into which publicans, brewers, police authorities, Inland Revenue officials can enter with teetotalers and all law-abiding citizens for ridding our country of such a formidable enemy to order and decency. Here is a work upon which we may all agree and labour shoulder to shoulder, a crusade worthy of everyone who has respect for decency and order, and if we only concentrate our efforts in the right direction against this system the tide of public opinion is in our favour, and these places would meet with the speedy and certain doom they so richly merit. If the voice of the people is not the voice of God, then we are certainly safe in saying, at least, that the voice of the people is the voice of Parliament, and the Imperial Government will find it an imperative duty to act, and that quickly. It was predicted before the passing of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, that should it come to pass, the people would buy in on Saturday night in jugs, bottles,

and barrels stock for Sunday drinking; and, unfortunately, this has proved true to a large extent, and we frankly confess its being done; but why, in the name of common sense, blame us or the Act for this? Surely, bad as this may be considered, and really is, yet, to every unprejudiced mind, it is clearly seen to be the lesser evil, and it is highest wisdom to always choose the less of two evils. To argue against temperance legislation upon such ground shows great weakness, and to attempt to stop legislation of this kind is useless. It would be almost as well to try to turn a river up a mountain-side, or sweep the ocean with a besom as prevent the continuance of such wise and proper legislation, for it must and will come sooner or later, and the sooner the better—better for all classes of the community, from peer to peasant. With those who seek to uphold clubs we are prepared to try conclusions, for, having taken an eminent legal opinion, and had it proved to us beyond doubt that such places thrive in opposition to, and by breaking, the law, and that they can now be suppressed, we are fully warranted in calling upon the police and Inland Revenue officers to come boldly and do their duty by carrying out the powers vested in them. They have been dealt with upon a small scale already, as, for instance, at Maesteg, Bridgend, Penarth, Cardiff, and elsewhere, and if the combined forces of Inland Revenue and police authorities were brought to bear we should soon witness an end to this discreditable system. We have been told of the difficulties in the way of legally quashing bogus clubs, but we cannot see them. Moreover, we rely confidently on the opinions given us over and over again by barristers and others, and ask the powers that be to bestir themselves, and bring to justice those guilty of such nefarious practices. It has been said that “these clubs are unspeakably bad, kept by dishonest and unprincipled persons, low cunning people.” But let us pause a moment and ask, Who is responsible? To say that

the Welsh Sunday Closing Act created them and gave them birth is a wrong statement, and not founded on fact. I boldly deny such an assertion. That they increased after its passing may be true, but they neither increased nor were formed necessarily through the Act. In April, 1883, according to the head-constable's report, there were clubs in Cardiff with a membership of 2,854. In April, 1884, just one year later, the membership stood at 2,350, or a decrease in twelve months of 504. This speaks for itself, and needs no comment more than to say that it is an evidence of rapid progress in the direction of the object we seek, viz., overthrow of every one of these spurious clubs. Here is a clever piece of reasoning:—"To shut up the clubs the only way is to open public-houses, and to open public-houses you must repeal the Welsh Sunday Closing Act."

I confess to not being much enlightened by such reasoning, but just see what this amounts to. Looking the facts full in the face, it comes to this, that if you compare the number of public-houses in Cardiff with the number of clubs, they stand in the relation of one club to about every 31 licensed houses. Here is a margin, and with this enormous disparity and difference can it for a moment be supposed that to shut up one club and open 31 public-houses is the remedy for getting rid of the evils of which we so justly complain? Oh, that our opponents would but stop and weigh their own arguments! Can two blacks make one white, or two wrongs one right? Did they, or will they, ever do so? Never! We can never admit that the Welsh Sunday Closing Act has been, or is to be, charged with the formation and growth of these clubs, or the abuse of the *Bonâ Fide* Traveller Clauses. These clubs existed long before the Act was thought of, and of this we have abundant proof. Our opponents talk of their number and flourishing condition in Scotland and Ireland, when they well know how we demolished, long ago, such false accounts by quoting

evidence given by the most competent authorities before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, as well as other trustworthy sources which cannot be gainsaid; yes, and the same persons tell us of their number and increase in Wales and Cardiff, but I want to show that they exist to a lamentable extent in England, where no law prevents public-houses from being open on the Sunday; in fact, where public-houses are open, these clubs seem to spread in an alarming degree. The infamy is being perpetuated in England, so that the lowest depth of degradation has been arrived at, and idleness, want, and woe have taken hold of the masses in England, through the destructive influences of these houses, and all this with Sunday opening. A point has been reached here that has made publicans and licensed victuallers blush and cry out, What can be done in England to put a stop to all this? Read the *Licensed Victuallers' Guardian*, *Morning Post*, or the *Globe*, and hear what they say of clubs in England. For instance:—"From time to time there have been rumours of Government action against the so-called clubs for the working classes; such in most cases are nothing better than unlicensed and unregulated grog shops. No steps have yet been taken to suppress the evil, and the abominable institutions are consequently multiplying very quickly. In Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, and from almost all our great centres of population the same complaint comes, and wonder is naturally expressed that something is not done to put a stop to these drinking dens, flooding our towns and cities with the worst results to public morality. Not only do they encourage tippling, but at many of them gambling is carried on systematically day and night, and it is said that this is known to the police. Members of these sham clubs obtain for some nominal sum—generally 1s. per quarter—the right of obtaining as much intoxicating liquor as they can pay for at any hour of the twenty-four, including Sunday, and

this scandalous anomaly exists almost everywhere." Such is the cry from England, and mark, for it cannot too often be impressed upon the minds of those who prate so much of all these evils and bogus clubs being the result of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, that this voice comes from England, where no Act of Parliament has been passed as yet for entire Sunday closing. According to our opponents' views, then, certainly this should be the green spot amid all this desolation, the most powerful reason why Sunday closing should not be; and yet England is a swift witness against them, and to plead her is to strike a fatal blow to all their arguments upon this subject. Look at the Northern and Midland Counties, and see how the same evils abound there, until the wail is repeated, "What can be done to stop such places?" The licensed victuallers called a large convention in Birmingham last November to see what means could be devised at once to immediately demolish these clubs. This is the sort of thing we want, and in this we are agreed, but what I ask is that, instead of carping at wholesome legislation, they might take pattern by those in the business over in England, and do what they can to rid Wales of a curse. The clubs are used as a cry to defeat the purpose of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, and we shall endeavour to show how much the licensed victuallers, publicans, and brewers of Wales and Cardiff are responsible for the existence of this iniquitous system of spurious clubs, which we deplore, and are determined to do our best to rid Wales of, as well as to modify, or do away altogether with the obnoxious clauses, unsatisfactory in the extreme, relating to that mysterious person designated "the *bonâ fide* traveller."

It is argued that because clubs are the resort of those who move in fashionable circles, their means enabling them to form and maintain clubs which command the patronage of the upper classes—that because of this, and in like manner, the poorer classes, the labouring portions (always

by far the most numerous) of the community, should have their clubs also ; but, perhaps, the best answer to this is that the industrial classes do not want either public-houses or clubs open for their real (or supposed) benefit at all, and this has been shown many times by a canvass of the people themselves.

I ask again in all seriousness, anxious for a proper solution of this problem, Who is responsible? Let me propound a few questions. Was it not said by the licensed victuallers and those engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors that, seeing the Welsh Sunday Closing Act had passed, they were determined to have their revenge by establishing clubs? Did they not enter into a compact, and resolve that they would thwart the purpose its supporters had in view, and, indeed, the Act itself? Did they not say that they would bring ridicule upon it, and make it as obnoxious as possible, and very difficult to work? Is it, or is it not, a fact that publicans and brewers own some of these club-houses now, or did until recently? Do they not constantly supply these houses, against which they rave so much, with liquors, and yet want, they say, to uproot them? Are they not making large profits from the drink supplied to clubs? Have not certain persons in the "trade" rented some of these clubs, and do they not to-day reap the benefit from them? If any of these things be true, no wonder clubs exist, the only surprise being that they are not increased tenfold. We hope, for the credit of the licensed victuallers, brewers, and others we have referred to, that these things are not so. I am very much afraid that, as a matter of convenience, and to serve their own special purpose, interested parties are found now in great numbers who fall out altogether with legislation upon this drink question, and whose arguments go so far as "moral suasion" and no further. They stop there. Why? Because it suits them to do so. And, let it be law to shut up public-houses on Sundays, shorten the hours of sale,

reduce the number of licences, or what not, our opponents would not, if they could prevent it, have legislation to compel any such restrictions upon this business, out of which large fortunes are amassed, to the ruin of 120,000 precious lives annually, and the worse than waste of 125 millions of money every year. But I want to ask, even in the face of bogus clubs, and the abuse of the *bonâ fide* traveller clauses, and in spite of some of our sturdy Welshmen setting at defiance this Act of Parliament, and, at the same time, violating the laws of religion, morality, and health, as well as God's law, are we, because of these things, to prevent laws from being made which shall have the effect of better regulating and controlling a dangerous traffic which is spreading so much evil in our midst? Because liquor is stored in cottages, perhaps stronger liquor than is usually sold, because men continue in some instances to make themselves worse than the brute creation by getting drunk "over the border," at their neighbours' houses, or in these filthy clubs, are we to forego trying to make men sober? It has been said, time after time, that men cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament. Men are made sober by Act of Parliament every day we live, and, what is more, they are all the better for it. Their health becomes improved, their morals and general character are so different that often their most intimate friends exclaim, what a change! We could never have believed it if we had not seen for ourselves. Sober by Act of Parliament! Our gaols, prisons, penal settlements testify to this fact and to its excellent results. All criminals, of whatever class, when once they get inside the gates of the House of Correction, must become teetotalers, and remain so during the time they are there. Such questions, then, as, can persons be made sober by Act of Parliament? are, in the face of facts so well known, absurd, and those who inquire after this fashion had better, for their own sakes, keep silence. We

all know that many immoral practices, from playing pitch-and-toss to murder, have been greatly diminished by legal enactments.

If men really cannot be made moral by Act of Parliament—if law has no effect in preventing vice and crime—we may as well abandon legislation. If men are not made moral by Act of Parliament, then I ask, what has induced successive Parliaments to pass laws against slavery, duelling, prize-fighting, gambling, &c.? The fact is, every Act of Parliament is, or should be, an expression of the opinion and will of a large majority of the people. When the mass of any community declares it will not tolerate vice and crime it finds means to make its will respected.

During the last twelvemonths we have obtained convictions against nearly 50 houses for illicit drinking, and we are rapidly overtaking these offenders against the law, and for this I wish to give our police the fullest credit. I hesitate not to say that very shortly there will be an end to illicit drinking, if we may judge from what has been already done in this direction. Would illicit drink shops close their doors? Certainly, for if in no other way we would soon close them by the strong arm of the law. I have been asked (not in joke, but very seriously), and some of my friends have also been asked by licensed victuallers, to co-operate with them in trying to get a Bill introduced and passed for dealing with these clubs, and I have promised to do so. Meantime, we can go on dealing with them now, for we have the power, though I shall hail with intense satisfaction anything and everything that can be done to strengthen our hands in this respect. What we want to do, and must do, is to find a remedy for the evils of which we complain, and for the terrible mischief caused by the spurious clubs which prevail in our midst. The remedy is certainly not in repealing the Welsh Sunday Closing Act and opening public-houses again on the Sabbath; of this we

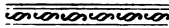
are sure, and also quite as confident that it will never be done. The course these clubs are running in England to-day fully justifies our saying this much, for Sunday opening England is fairly over-run with them, and dreadful indeed is the sad tale that is being told.

A good definition of law is that it conveniently embodies public sentiment, and provides thereby for its own carrying out. There are certain things the people of the United Kingdom have made up their minds to tolerate, and certain others they have equally made up their minds they will not. Among the latter are spurious clubs, the *bond fide* traveller, and the present system of thrusting liquor shops and drinking dens upon the people. This must soon come to an end, and a system introduced, call it Local Option or what you like, when the people will have the power to decide as to their having these places in their midst or not. And this will come all the sooner with the operation of the New Franchise, which all temperance men hail with pleasure.

To be acceptable, legislation must be consistent; it must be equal, and founded upon a sound principle. At present the laws dealing with the whole question of drink and licensed houses are wofully defective.

Education has done much in the past, and will do more in the future, to help on our great movement and the consummation of the temperance reformation, especially the training of the young to a firm conviction that our principles are the best, that they are just, good, and pure. The race of those addicted to intoxicating drinks will one day die out, and up will rise the children, trained in thousands of Bands of Hope, and these will change the entire aspect of affairs as pertaining to this traffic. We believe in this educational process being maintained and increased. In Cardiff alone, in the short space of six years, the number of members of the various Bands of Hope has been raised from 600 to nearly 7,000.

What does Roman Catholicism say to-day? "Give us the children!" And in them they hope. The champion of the Educational Act, Mr. Forster, was concerned for the welfare of the children of England, for he could well see that England's hope was, not in her army or navy, not in her ironclads or fortifications, but in the children. Hence he set to work and did his best in the matter of making provision for their education. The next generation will work wonders for us in the way of shutting up public-houses, clubs, and all such like places, and I am especially cheered with this grand thought, that the children are growing up to do what we have so far been unable to do, and what even the Legislature up to now has failed to do.



XI.—CONCLUSION.

IT took about fourteen years of hard work to obtain Sunday Closing for Wales, and about the same time have they been trying, more or less, for Sunday Closing in England. We have obtained the desire of our heart in this thing in Wales, and wish our friends in England God-speed. We promise them all the help we can possibly render, and beg them to take encouragement from what we have experienced. The difficulty in obtaining this Act was not to convince the people but to convince Parliament, and this is the difficulty which confronts Mr. J. C. Stevenson to-day in his English Sunday Closing Bill. The people for whose good it is intended are convinced, and are prepared for it, but Parliament, up to the present, seems not ripe for this change. We urge the people of England to press their representatives upon this point, and pressure will make them yield. England will never rest satisfied until free entirely from the ravages of intoxicating drink upon the Lord's Day. The licensed victuallers have long boasted that they had been entrusted with the liberties of the people. But I ask, When? Where? How? did this come about. Who would ever think of handing over to the tender mercies of such a class the liberties of the people? What for? Are they better able to take care of them than the people themselves? Is it right to perpetuate such a system? Is it not a fact, that because of drink, the land mourneth? To save all this sorrow and death, let us try to stop this plague. If we

want to open up the channels of commerce, and see our coal, iron, and cotton manufactories in a flourishing condition once more ; to banish distress and cause sufferings to vanish ; to usher in the reign of contentment and prosperity, then drink must be driven out of our midst. Remove the cause and the effect is gone. In this case drink is the one great cause, and we must seek its removal. The case admits of no argument, no successful contradiction, for does not every judge, almost, in the land certify to the very same thing, and many others capable of forming a correct opinion and a sound judgment upon this matter? You may ask me to pause and look at the 30 or more millions of money profit every year derived from this traffic, and want to know also what would become of the revenue if this were cut off. My reply is, that such would be the new order of things, in the event of our country becoming entirely sober, and the evils of liquor banished from our midst, that the very save which would be effected in so many various ways and in actual hard cash would more than make up for the loss of revenue. Besides, this money so derived is the price of blood, of widows' groans and orphans' cries, it is the price of "weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth," and of countless agony, and, therefore, it becomes our imperative duty, as a civilised and Christian nation, to rid ourselves of it. Talk of compensation? It would come in a thousand different ways, and this grand old England would be the brightest and most beautiful spot on all God's earth. Who can sound the depth of despair and horror that clusters round the one short word "drunk?" What is the work, then, in which we have been engaged and the object we have been defending? "Sunday Closing." We have been endeavouring to preserve the Lord's Day from the evil influence of the public sale of intoxicating liquors. We believe that a great deal of the sin connected with that day arises from the temptations of the public-

houses, and that a great number of persons were engaged in that calling who ought to be set free from Sunday labour. Objectors say it is an interference with the rights and privileges of those who have a very large capital invested in these licensed houses. But these houses have been established for the public convenience; they are licensed by the magistrates to supply a public want. This will be readily conceded. No publican dare go before a licensing bench and ask for a licence with a view to his own profit. He has to make out a case to the satisfaction of the Bench that what he petitions for is a public requirement in the neighbourhood in which he intends opening such premises. If the public turns round and most distinctly states that it does not want such house or houses at all, or does not want them open upon the Sunday, then, in common fairness, the owners or keepers of these houses have no ground for pleading that their personal rights are to stand in the way of what the public believes would be for its own good. This is just how the Welsh Sunday Closing Act has come about. Is it right or reasonable that a man who cannot buy a loaf of bread on a Sunday, or a meal of potatoes, shall be able to buy beer and spirits? When shops that sell all necessary and useful articles are closed, why should those which manufacture drunkards be open, brilliantly lighted, and crowded with customers?

The principle is altogether wrong and out of harmony with the fitness of things. If such a state of things existed in some distant country, how moralists would denounce it. We should send missionaries out to reform a people so recklessly irreligious and immoral. How often we disregard what is nearest to us. I want to show by this mode of teaching that in contending for Sunday Closing we were doing right, and that those who now fall out with us cannot do so with any fair show of reason, even if looked at

from their own standpoint, and in the light in which they make application for their licence and the specific ground upon which such application is based. Publicans and brewers have no right to monopoly of trade on the Lord's Day. It is unfair in the greatest degree for one class alone to sell upon this day to the exclusion of every other. No exception was made to any class of the community when God gave the command, "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy." It has been estimated that no less than £15,000,000 are annually spent on Sundays on intoxicating drinks, and yet we are called a Christian nation, a Sabbath-keeping people. We advocate Sunday Closing because it is well known that a large number of young men go astray who commenced their downward course by Sunday drinking. An open public-house is a curse to any neighbourhood, denying to the inhabitants which surround it the peace and quiet of a much-needed day of rest. Why should they and their children be exposed to the disgraceful sights and sounds produced by Sunday drinking, which continue long after the public-house has disgorged its besotted frequenters at the time of closing? Does not the public-house make wife, children, and home miserable on the very day they ought to be happiest and brightest? Thousands to-day who are slaves to habits of intemperance want protection against themselves and the vicious temptations which surround them, and this is a powerful plea on behalf of Sunday Closing. Moreover, Sunday Closing would lead men to go to work on Mondays, whereas now they often lose a day or two early in the week.

Mr. Whitworth, M.P., in a speech delivered in Exeter Hall, June 14th, 1875, said:—"I am connected with concerns in this country employing 45,000 men, and paying something like £4,000,000 every year in wages. I will just give you the results of Sunday drinking in one of these

concerns. We pay £10,000 a week wages, and employ between 7,000 and 8,000 hands. We never commence work on Mondays, because we find the men do not come in sufficient numbers to make it worth our while to get up steam to turn our machinery. Now, I have calculated very minutely what the cost of this is to the concern. It is £35,000 a year, or a loss equal to 4 per cent. on the capital employed." No wonder Mr. Whitworth adds, "I want to know how long this country can stand such a drain as that. We are competing with the whole world, and I say with a weight like that we shall not be able long to compete with it." In 1868 Mr. W. Cockburn, manager of Messrs. Peace's Ironstone Mines in Yorkshire, stated in evidence before the Select Committee which sat in that year upon Sunday Closing, "In one mine 14 per cent. were off work on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in the week after pay, which was fortnightly; in another mine 21 per cent. were off work on Monday, and he accounted for this by the effects of their drinking principally on the Sabbath Day." Sunday opening of public-houses is the most formidable antagonist to all Christian workers. It neutralises the influence of Church and Sunday School, and interferes with every endeavour to improve society. Closing public-houses on the Sunday is not a mere abstainer's question, and we are glad to note this, for very many publicans, I am proud to think, take out even now in England a six days' licence. It is a question for the working classes. We cannot make people healthy by Act of Parliament, and yet we have our sanitary laws. We cannot make them intelligent, and yet we have, very wisely, our compulsory Education Act.

Recently in the columns of the *Western Mail* it was attempted to prove the failure of Sunday Closing in Scotland for, perhaps, the sixth or seventh time. I say attempted, for it was nothing but a miserable and futile

attempt, carrying its own refutation on the face of it, as have also other efforts in this direction in regard to Irish and Welsh Sunday Closing. Scotland has enjoyed its Sunday Closing for a generation now, and with what results? Why these: That the word "enjoyed" is scarcely sufficiently powerful and expressive to convey its full meaning, much as there is wrapt up in it. Those in "the trade" have boldly declared Sunday Closing in Scotland to be "a disastrous failure, which has intensified and increased those evils which it was intended to prevent." But by insisting upon this they make a great tactical blunder, and so fix attention on facts fatal to their case. A recently issued Parliamentary return, moved for by Dr. Cameron, M.P. for Glasgow, shows that from eight o'clock on Sunday morning till eight o'clock on Monday morning—the time covered by Sunday Closing—the number of cases of Sunday drunkenness for 1876 were 212, and for 1877 only 147. These returns further show that for 1882, between the hours of six a.m. on Saturday and six a.m. on Sunday, the total number of apprehensions were 12,254; but between the hours of six a.m. on Sunday and six a.m. on Monday the number was only 1,492, and, moreover, out of a total six days' arrests of 31,723 for drunkenness only 1,492 were for Sunday drunkenness. The Right Hon. G. O. Trevelyan, in a powerful speech which he delivered in the House of Commons recently, said: "In Aberdeen, between six on Saturday morning and six on Sunday morning, there were 413 arrests for drunkenness in one year; on Sundays there were only 32. In Edinburgh there were 935 persons arrested for drunkenness on Saturdays, on Sundays there were 98; in Glasgow, 5,956 persons arrested on Saturdays for the same crime, on Sundays only 427; in Perth, 77 on Saturdays, and only 6 on Sundays; in Greenock, 713 on Saturdays, but only 36 on Sundays; in

Paisley 482 on Saturdays, just 71 on Sundays. And if he took his own constituency, there were 74 on Saturdays, and only 6 on Sundays. These returns afforded a very conclusive answer to the allegation that secret drinking would take the place of public drinking on Sundays." That the liquor traffic is the main factor in the production of every species of crime goes without saying. Common knowledge clearly teaches us this lamentable truth.

Baron Huddleston, in charging the Grand Jury at the Oxford Assizes, said:—"I think that summarises the cause of the diminution of crime, and also it might have been added that lately, both by example and teaching, the doctrines of temperance have been more generally inculcated. Certainly, as far as my experience goes, the greatest amount of crime is traceable, directly or indirectly, to the effects of drink. I am bound to say that this is not of modern days only, for in turning over the life of Lord Hale, in one of his charges to the jury, he says he believes as the result of his many years' experience that 'nine-tenths of the cases in the calendar were attributable directly or indirectly to the influence of drink.'"

Mr. Justice Hawkins is reported to have said at the Central Criminal Court:—"Cases in which a husband had been driven almost to desperation by the misconduct of his wife were painfully frequent, and he was sorry to say that within the last two or three weeks it had been his painful duty to pass sentence of death upon three men who had murdered their wives under circumstances of this kind. In nine cases out of ten this state of things was produced by drink. The vice of drinking was on the increase, and the homes of the poorer classes were wretched in consequence. He felt that the time had come when it was absolutely necessary that something should be done to put a stop to such a state of things, and that the Legislature should do

this by enforcing more stringent regulations upon those who supplied drink to the working classes."

Mr. Justice Smith, charging the Grand Jury at Cardiff (1885), referred in pointed terms to the diminution of crime and the improved morality of the lower classes, attributing the change in a great measure to the advance of temperance principles.

Catholic clergymen in Cardiff are reported to have said lately that the Sunday Closing Act is a failure, but upon being written to concerning this question they have expressed their entire unwillingness to see the public houses re-opened on the Sabbath Day. When will our opponents cease to misrepresent facts and endeavour to mislead the masses? They know well it is only by such means they can hope to bolster up this iniquitous business, and hence they are strenuously at work in this direction. The united voice of the Catholic Bishops of America on the Sunday drink traffic declares :—"There is one way of profaning the Lord's Day which is so prolific of evil results that we consider it our duty to utter against it a special condemnation. This is the practice of selling beer or other liquors on Sunday, or of frequenting places where they are sold. This practice tends more than any other to turn the day of the Lord into a day of dissipation. While we hope that Sunday laws on this point will not be relaxed, but even more rigidly enforced, we implore all Catholics, for the love of God and of country, never to take part in such Sunday traffic, nor to patronise or countenance it. And we not only direct the attention of all pastors to the repression of the abuse, but we also call upon them to induce all of their flocks that may be engaged in the sale of liquors to abandon as soon as they can the dangerous traffic and to embrace a more becoming way of making a living." I believe that if the Catholic Bishops of England and their clergy were appealed to upon

this question they would echo the same sentiments, and impress upon those under their care to act upon the same advice. Let them in this matter follow the excellent and noble example of his Eminence Cardinal Manning, and not rest until those who compose their Churches with one accord rise up to carry out the earnest desire of those set in authority over them.

This is the testimony of a Mayor of Manchester (1885) to Sunday Closing :—"Whatever people may say, we appeal to our own common sense. I was in Wales last year (1884) and I was told that the Sunday Closing Act had been a failure, and that there was a great deal of drunkenness and fighting; I was there on Saturday night and saw both drunkenness and fighting; I was there on Sunday night and saw neither drunkenness nor fighting, so that the evidence of my own common sense was in direct antagonism to that statement."

Mr. J. J. Fitzpatrick, of Liverpool, speaking at a great meeting in Manchester on behalf of Sunday Closing for England, said :—"Five or six years ago he was told that there was no probability of Sunday Closing becoming the law of Ireland. Now that Sunday Closing prevailed in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales we felt the want of such a measure all the more in England, and as an Irishman and Catholic he would hail the passing of such a law, and felt sure it would be obtained. Sunday Closing in Ireland had reduced the number of arrests for drunkenness from 5,900 to 2,400, or considerably less than one-half. How much reduction of domestic misery this implied; how much money saved, which before was worse than wasted; how much industry and national progress it represented! At least a million of money had been saved to the people of Ireland by this measure. Why, even with this save of money society could be well-nigh regenerated, and if the

£15,000,000 per year spent on Sunday drinking alone was all saved it would certainly accomplish this work of regeneration."

The Rev. Father Vaughan, of Manchester, says: "As Christians we are bound to advocate Sunday Closing, and prevent the people becoming demoralised, de-Christianised, degraded, and dehumanised by the stream of liquid fire, as though they were demons from the fires below, and not free men born to breathe the fresh air of our island home. It was because he loved his country and hated slavery that he entered his solemn protest against the slavery to which so many millions of our countrymen were exposed by the reckless traffic on Sunday in this slave-making 'fire-water.' It was time we demanded Imperial legislation." In June, 1883, the *Licensed Victuallers' Guardian*, referring to the Beerhouse Act of 1869, says:—"Those who remember Cardiff fifteen or twenty years ago well know what were the fruits of this irresponsible drink traffic. At midnight, the hour at which the premises had to be closed, it was easy to imagine that hell itself breathed out contagion to the world. The streets would be thronged with drunken humanity in its most degraded type, some singing drunken songs, others swearing and wrangling, and not a few joining in street brawls which were inevitable. Stabbing affrays were common, and no person was safe unless armed. The Act of 1869 purged the trade of the rougher element. Then came the Bruce Act of 1872. Nothing more," says the writer, "seemed wanting to protect the public morality, and, as a natural sequence, drunkenness began to decline." We are glad of this testimony, in the latter part, though at first we are treated to a most wretched and deplorable picture of Cardiff "fifteen or twenty years ago." Thank God, social and moral reformers have been found who, under His blessing and guidance, have been instrumental in very

materially altering such a state of things for the better. And yet something else was "wanting"—Sunday Closing. And it has been secured. And this great boon already has accomplished wonders throughout the entire Principality, carrying richer blessings every week of its existence. The day is fast approaching when, if our local authorities fail in their duty, as they most assuredly have done so far, by not grappling more effectively with bogus clubs, illicit drinking, and the abuse of the *bonâ fide* traveller clauses, the Imperial Legislature must come to the rescue, and deliver us from this gigantic evil also, by sweeping away the law as it at present stands, and bringing in a new order of things. I regret the supineness and indifference of our police, Watch Committees, and head constables, in relation to these grievances, but their indifference will only tend to rouse Parliament to speedy action, and I have no fear of the results. It seems a shame to have to go through the tedious round of Parliamentary delay to get a state of things remedied which could be overcome by local authorities. But, seeing they do not rid us of the evil, Parliament must and will.

What says the *Economist* in regard to pauperism? Its testimony comes in most opportunely, and is very valuable indeed, for it is the truth, told, not by a teetotaler or advocate of Sunday Closing, but by a periodical which treats its subjects without regard to any particular set of opinions, and reports the real condition of things in the country for the benefit of all concerned. Quoting from the returns of 1884 to August, it says:—"Though in the iron districts in the North, where working-men were last year earning 10s. to 15s. per day, there was an increase of 4,441 paupers through intemperance, and in London 528, yet it was a pleasing sign of the times that there was a decrease in other parts of the kingdom of 7,577, thus leaving a net decrease

of 2,608." But I wish to call special attention to the fact that this same paper goes on to say that Wales, with only about a sixteenth of the population, "contributed 1,299 less paupers to this general result, or one-half of the entire decrease." If the Welsh Sunday Closing Act had been a failure, how on earth is it to be accounted for that in one year of its operations we had in the Principality 1,299 less paupers? If the Welsh Sunday Closing Act has been a failure, why are the publicans so wroth with those who are responsible for it? That they are sore is certain, they even accuse us of "filching from a worthy trade its property and gains." And yet they try to prove that drunkenness has increased since the passing of the Act, and of course if drunkenness has increased, more drink must be consumed, and the receipts of the trader have increased also. How then are the property and gains of a worthy trade filched? Or, else, how is the Welsh Sunday Closing Act a failure? And they call us "hypocrites!!!"

The proportion of convictions in Wales is only now 2 1-7th per 10,000 of the inhabitants, as against 10 per 10,000 inhabitants in England.

From all sides evidence is forthcoming which will help to crush the traffic in drink. It is under a ban. The insurance offices declare that the publicans, as a class, are very short-lived, that in fact they die at the rate of 150 to 160 to every 100 of the ordinary class of assurers. Many offices will not insure publicans at all, and those that do exact a high rate of premium.

The drink traffic is a great enemy to human life. About 450 persons *daily* fall early victims, and have to be borne prematurely to the grave, whose lives, but for this curse, would have been spared. How long can this go on! How long is poverty and pauperism induced by drink to continue? To be free from the curse on the Sunday is a

point gained, but the good sense of the English people will cry out for more than this brief respite ere long.

In the United Kingdom there are, it is computed, about 600,000 habitual drunkards. This takes no account of secret drunkards, of whom there are, alas! a very large number. It cannot be wondered at that there is an outcry against drink.

Strong drink is not necessary to physical endurance, as too many people believe, and would have others believe also. Ample evidence to the contrary would be forthcoming from men who have trained for any feats of endurance. Explorers, men who train for walking feats, boating, football, and cricket matches, generally abstain altogether, or make very sparing use of stimulants.

It has been objected to Sunday Closing that it causes a greater consumption of drink in the homes of the people, in the presence of wives and children, and that the evil is aggravated instead of lessened. But although this may be true of exceptional cases, yet the cases are so few as to leave no room for comparison with the enormous number of homes which were formerly made wretched on Sunday when the public-house closed at night. Then the drunkard returned home to his family, and the effects of the drink would be felt keenly enough, although the actual consumption had taken place elsewhere. It cannot be contended that since the passing of this Act the consumption of drink at home has increased among those who never visit the public-house, and it is not likely that *all* who *fell* into temptation when the doors were wide open, deliberately provide for any extensive carousal on the Sunday, now that the doors are closed.

Drink costs this country every day in direct monetary loss £400,000, while the cost of the entire education of the country comes to the comparatively insignificant sum of only £13,000 per day.

With this chapter I bring my "History of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act" to an end. I have tried, however imperfectly, to prove the necessity and success of the measure. Conscious of many failings and imperfections, I have often wished that it had fallen into better hands. When Wilberforce, the champion of the down-trodden slave, passed away, Daniel O'Connell said of him that "he has gone up bearing in his hands the broken shackles of two million slaves." This was about the highest possible tribute which could be paid to such a man as Wilberforce, and all the workers in the temperance cause, scattered over a wide field which is becoming larger every day, shall earn a like eulogium when we have broken the shackles of the millions who are bound by the chains of the demon Strong Drink, the most terrible enemy that England has to fear.



APPENDIX.

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR OF THE "WESTERN
MAIL" IN REPLY TO LORD BRAMWELL'S PAMPHLET,
ENTITLED "DRINK;" AND TO A CORRESPONDENT WHO
DEFENDED THE DRINK TRAFFIC.

APRIL, 1885.

REPLY TO LORD BRAMWELL ON "DRINK."

IN last Saturday's issue of your paper the public were treated (!) to nearly a column and a half in the shape of a leading article professing to quote largely from a pamphlet on "Drink" written by Lord Bramwell for the "Liberty and Property Defence League," and your remarks thereon were most favourable to the side taken by his lordship. The feeling would have been one of great, though pleasing, disappointment to very many had it been otherwise. I have waited a week in the hope that someone else would address you on such an important matter, but seeing that this has not been done, I cannot allow either your criticisms or his lordship's remarks to go unchallenged. If his lordship be correctly reported, so much the worse for his lordship; for he well deserves the pity and merits the sympathy of an indulgent public; and yet not too much of this either, for upon reflection it does seem a marvel that his lordship is not more enlightened in this year of grace 1885, and that it should be left to a schoolboy, a member of one of our many Bands of Hope or Juvenile Temperance Societies, to be capable of overthrowing his arguments, and knocking the very foundation from under him just as easy as for men to play at "ninepins." If his lordship has been incorrectly reported, then so much the worse for you, Mr. Editor, for upon you will rest all the responsibility of his name being taken in vain.

His lordship's description of drink is worthy of special note when contrasted with what he says of it later on :—

Drink—yes, drink ! I mean by that, drink which cheers, and, if you take too much, inebriates. Drink ! Yes, alcohol ; of which, if you take too much, you put “an enemy in your mouth to steal away your brains.” Drink, which makes a man contemptible and ridiculous if under the influence of too much of it. Drink, which ruins the health, and kills the unhappy wretch who persistently takes it to excess. Drink ! Yes, I say it is a good thing, and I think the world would act foolishly if it gave it up.

All except the last couple of sentences is very good indeed, and would well adorn any teetotal platform in the country, and be a credit to any advocate of the temperance cause ; for, if not in such a vigorous style, that is just what *we* say, and exactly what we mean, with this exception, that *we* take a decided objection to the words “Drink which cheers,” and also to the passage, “It is a good thing.” But take these two short sentences out, and so far we get on well together, for we know fully that it “inebriates,” that, in taking it, the individual verily “puts an enemy in his mouth to steal away his brains”—not, perhaps, that he means to do so, but this is the natural outcome of the indulgence in this terrible vice of drinking. For it is a vice, nothing short of it, but rather something a great deal more than we are apt to grasp or understand by the word “vice.” The vocabulary of his lordship certainly seems lacking, for we observe that in the above short quotation he repeats himself no less than three times, and I take it that already he feels he has a very bad case to defend, and hence is not so careful in his selection and variation of language.

He proceeds to say, in answer to a real or supposed question put as to drink, Why, if it does all the harm here stated, still advocate it ? The reply is as follows :—

For this reason—that it does an immense deal more good. I say outright that it does a deal more good, because it gives a vast deal more pleasure and enjoyment to those who take it with good sense and

moderation. Is it not true that it is a source of great pleasure and enjoyment? See the thorough relish with which a tired man takes his glass of beer, the keen pleasure of the first glass of sherry at dinner to the man exhausted with the labour of his brain. But, besides these keen enjoyments (a bad case, and hence another repetition), take the more quiet and sober pleasure of the glass of beer at dinner and at supper, or with the pipe. This is a pleasure had in this country by millions daily, nay, twice daily; and if, instead of the glass of beer or wine, a small quantity of spirit, with water, is taken, the pleasure is the same, and the practice as reasonable.

Lord Bramwell lays down premises and utterly fails to prove what he asserts twice over in the most unblushing and positive manner. Now, it will be at once conceded that the person of most ordinary intelligence, if he attempts to make a statement public, should proceed to prove the same; this is the least that can be expected of anyone. But here his lordship has miserably failed. If we have been favoured with the whole he has said upon this point (and I expect we have the pith and cream of it) then it amounts to this, that the singular climax attained by his lordship proves that after all the tall and loud talk of the "immense good" and the "deal more good" drink does than harm, he leaves the argument just where we have a right to expect and demand more, much more, for all he says in support of the wonderful reason for thus declaring himself is "because it gives a vast deal of pleasure and enjoyment." What! And has it come to this, that with the learning, the ability, and the mind of a man like Lord Bramwell, he will appear, whether innocently or no, to so grossly insult the public by resting the entire proof of his assertion that drink "does an immense deal of good, that it does a deal more good" than harm, upon the flimsy, tottering, stupid, and very questionable argument that "it gives a vast deal of pleasure and enjoyment?" Is this all? Does his lordship mean to rest on this? Does he leave a question of such vital importance just there? We had begun to open our eyes and prick up our ears to catch the full benefit of

what he would say ; but, lo, he makes a slap dash at—what ? Nothing ; absolutely nothing. Surely this may be very fittingly styled “ a mountain of labour to bring forth a mouse,” and a very little mouse, too ! Let him turn away from himself for one moment and listen to the deliberate utterances of his brother judges, and, without my staying to quote from these, can he, or anyone else, deny that nearly all of them demonstrate the awfully lamentable fact that fully two-thirds, if not three-fourths, of the crime of this country is brought about by this one evil of drinking. Everybody knows, and nearly everybody, if pressed, will acknowledge this to be true, for is it not the sad testimony of our gaols, assize courts, quarter sessions, and police evidence ? Does not the one word Drink explain for the most part the cause of the wretchedness, misery, prostitution, and lawlessness which we see constantly around us ? Is it not to the love of drink that men with the brightest intellects, noblest gifts, grandest prospects—men of rare culture, refined tastes, and exalted position—attribute their ruin ? Is it not the greatest, if not the only, enemy England has to fear ? Is it not the most terrible curse that afflicts society, the Church of God, and the country to-day ? I answer yes, emphatically yes, and invite proof to the contrary.

It would be our joy to be undeceived upon this point, and we should quietly and thankfully submit to the censure of our fellow-men if it could be proved that in this assertion we were wrong. But, alas ! it is not so. Look at the wrecks of humanity to be seen everywhere, floating about us daily in thousands ; visit our almshouses, workhouses, houses of mercy, our asylums, retreats, reformatories, penal settlements. Gaze, by imagination, upon the half-million of English homes, blighted and withered by this seemingly unending curse ; behold the shattered nerves, wasted constitutions, ruined health, debauched lives of those we meet with more or less every day. Stand by the open graves of the

victims to intemperance, witness the red hand of the murderer fresh from being steeped in the blood of his innocent fellow. Listen to the words of warning as they come from pulpit, platform, and sacred desk; yes, and as they come from the public-house, the bar, the tap-room, and the scaffold, and in all these we hear most plainly the awful truth, which should burn like fire in our bones until we had not only set ourselves to the task, but accomplished it, of sweeping from our land this gigantic evil. We have no quarrel with publicans, we say little of or to those who deal out this "liquid fire," except that we pity and feel for them, and wish them in a better business. But we do unhesitatingly wage war against a huge monster which has gained such a monopoly in our midst as that we designate "Strong drink." We make war with this traffic—system, trade, call it what name you like—and we tell even Lord Bramwell that we do not mean to rest until we have done our utmost to remove it from out of the nation. Back from the walls of all the places we have named, and many others, there comes a voice, deep and loud, like the voice of mighty thunder, and that voice, charged with a horrid mixture of "Weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth," of widows' groans, orphans cries, and bitter tears, mixed with ruined hopes, broken vows, blighted prospects, crushed and bleeding hearts. Drink, drink, drink, hath done all this! Ruined, killed, slain by drink! This is the office, the prerogative of King Alcohol every day.

His lordship further goes on to say:—

That the best, and in proportion of numbers the largest, quantity of brain work has been and still is being done by the people of those nations in which the use of alcoholic drinks has been and is habitual.

We will not tarry here further than to say such is not the opinion of many who are authorities upon this point, equal, we should consider, in their capability to arrive at a right conclusion to his lordship; but, further, we have heard

many who have tried both methods declare that they are far better for mental work, physical labour, the prosecution of their studies, and the performance of ordinary and extraordinary feats, as well as carrying out the very onerous and responsible duties devolving upon them, without the use of *any stimulant whatever in the shape of intoxicating liquor.*

The picture of the "relish" so "thorough" to the "tired man" who takes his "glass of beer," and "the keen pleasure of the first glass of sherry at dinner to the man exhausted with the labour of his brain," may go down with some, for it reads so nice that what wonder if there be those found to "smack their lips" at the very thought of it. But did it never occur to his lordship that grog-drinking, at its commencement, is the very reverse of pleasure? Give it to the lower animals, try it upon the brute creation, and see if it is not nauseous to these "wiser" creatures, who have nothing but instinct to guide them, but who show signs of more common sense upon a matter of this kind than the two-legged and higher order of animals. Give it to them, we say, and they instantly resent your taking such a liberty; it is at once repugnant to their nature and their taste. Try it upon innocent childhood and it recoils from its use. The liking for this "drink" is acquired by degrees; the appetite is only an artificial one, and hence the great pleasure recommended so strongly is only that begotten by an unnatural craving, a false appetite, for an unnatural article which in a short time produces upon the nerves and more sensitive parts of the physical or animal nature of man a thirst for this unnatural drink, until, imbibing so much and so long, his body becomes saturated with the poison and he insanely cries out for more, and is carried by this false, but ruinous, cry of depraved nature into the vortex of intemperance, the end of which is very often madness, death, and an early grave. Ah! this is the short and certain ending to a career of intemperance into which so many are plunged by the *moderate*

use of intoxicating drinks. If this be not so, then where do our 600,000 drunkards come from? From whose ranks are they drawn? And the 120,000 who die annually, directly and indirectly, through this one cause—what of these? Do they come from the ranks of teetotalers? Did they first start out upon a course intent upon becoming drunkards? Surely not! Then from whence came they? Why, from out of the number of those who commenced (as everyone does who takes these drinks at all) by the moderate use of drink.


Lord Bramwell calls the beginning of all this we have described, "Drink, yes, drink! Drink for the great pleasure and enjoyment which it gives." His lordship enters upon another kind of reasoning which is to be very much regretted, and which we greatly deprecate. Take the case of a man who drinks, and ruins his health. May he not say, "What is that to you? How do I harm you?" &c. Ah! what kind of teaching is conveyed in this? Has his lordship forgotten, or did he never hear of the "golden rule" of man's duty towards his brother and his neighbour—of the fact that we ought to help each other to do the right, and prevent our injuring one another, or even injuring ourselves? "Do thyself no harm." "Love thy neighbour as thyself." "Do good and communicate, forget not;" and in all these we see, as well as from many other standpoints, that clearly our duty is to seek to do all the good we possibly can to our fellow creatures in every walk of life, and I contend that teaching them the use of intoxicating drinks is a wrong which cannot be too strongly guarded against. "A point of special interest comes next," we are told, wherein his lordship says:—"Nothing can show this more strongly than the failure in Wales of the Sunday Closing Act," &c. Who told his lordship the Act has been a failure. Tens of thousands are only too glad to testify as to the palpable benefit of such a measure, and recent events prove this fact beyond all

doubt. I have nothing to say against his lordship as a judge, a lawyer, a gentleman of great learning and experience, but I do most deeply regret that he has thought fit to come out as the author of a pamphlet on "Drink," and, as Bunyan said to Judge Hale, so I say to Lord Bramwell, "I am at a point with you" upon this great question, and I am sure, however great a judge or sound a lawyer he may be, he has not distinguished himself in his pamphlet upon "Drink" as authors generally endeavour to distinguish themselves, viz., by something worthy of the writer, and worthy of public favour.

As his lordship has thought fit to declare in unqualified language that "Drink is good," not only "does good," but "is good" for body, brain, and mind, let me close by giving some eminent testimonies upon this point from those who, with all deference to his lordship, even he will admit that they ought to, and we say must, know better than he does. Last week, Dr. A. Carpenter, addressing a meeting in Exeter-hall, declared that in his private practice the result of a calculation he had made was that whereas the average doctor's bill amongst strong drinkers was £9, it was only about £3 amongst abstainers, and like a wise doctor he advised his hearers to apply themselves to the removal of the one great cause producing such a state of things. Dr. C. Murchison has declared that his experience led him to conclude that alcohol, taken in moderation, "is more or less directly the cause of a larger number of the ailments which in this country render life miserable and bring it to an early close." Sir William Gull says that, "taken as a whole, there is a great deal of injury done to health by the habitual use of wines in their various kinds and alcohol in its various shapes, even in so called moderate quantities;" and further Sir William says distinctly, "Intellectual work can be better done without alcohol than with it." Sir Henry Thompson protests that the habitual use of fermented liquors, far short

of drunkenness, and "such as is quite common in all ranks of society," "injures the body and diminishes the mental power to an extent which few people are aware of." Dr. Richardson declares that "alcohol is a dangerous instrument in the hands of the strong and wise; a murderous instrument in the hands of the weak and foolish." Add to these the opinion of such other eminent doctors as Andrew Clarke, Norman Kerr, Dr. Lees, and we have enough to satisfy the most sceptical of mankind, even Lord Bramwell, if he will but carefully and calmly reflect upon the eminence, ability, and skill of these great men. Dr. Gull has even told us that "alcohol is the most destructive agent we are aware of in this country," and Dr. Richardson has further said, "If this agent does really for the moment cheer the weary and impart a flush of transient pleasure to the unwearied who crave for mirth, its influence (doubtful even in these modest and moderate degrees) is an infinitesimal advantage by the side of an infinity of evil for which there is no compensation and no human cure." It would not be at all difficult to pursue this subject and these criticisms much further and at greater length, but for the present I must stay my pen, though I may trouble you at an early date with further comments upon "Lord Bramwell on Drink."

FURTHER REPLY TO LORD BRAMWELL ON "DRINK."

HAT a joke, Mr. Editor, to lash a man and it not hurt him, to "lay on" and the person not feel it; but how much more is the joke enhanced and appreciated when the individual so thrashed thoroughly enjoys it and is pleased and complimented thereby. Such is my fortunate and happy position. Instead, therefore, of abandoning the position taken up, or feeling in the least deterred by your severe strictures and criticisms on my reply to Lord Bramwell, I am emboldened to speak out again upon this very important subject. It is my joy and pride that I have a cause in hand which will bear the strictest scrutiny and investigation, and the more it is looked into and examined by doctors, editors, judges, ministers, and every other class of right-minded individuals, the more will its good qualities be observed, and the beautiful features and characteristics embodied in the teaching and practice of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors shine forth. So that I have no fear whatever, but quite the reverse. A feeling of great pleasure steals over me as I find myself once more doing what I can in my humble way to defend and maintain principles which, if only carried out and acted upon in daily life by the masses, would so revolutionise society, transform the habits and homes of the people, and upraise humanity that our world would literally become a very paradise, "a heaven begun below." There is no risk or hazard in thus standing up

boldly for truth and right, for temperance and sobriety, for entire freedom from the curse of a traffic which has cast gloom and terror into tens of thousands of hearts and homes, and thrown a dark, black mantle over the whole land, so thick and appalling that at one time it was thought impenetrable. But, thank God, we teetotalers see a rift in the cloud, a silver lining to it also, which very much cheers and encourages us to go on our way rejoicing. The last five years has wonderfully strengthened our ranks and fortified us in the great undertaking to which we are fully committed, and although it may not sound nice or palatable to our friends the licensed victuallers, yet we wish them to know that we go in for the *entire* prohibition of the liquor traffic, and do not intend to stop short of this. This is our goal, the end of our journey in this direction, and we don't mean to pull up until we have achieved it. Looked at by unprejudiced eyes and an unbiassed mind, we have the best of the argument all round, despite Lord Bramwell, your good self, and we will also throw in Lord Wemyss and Mr. Danvers Power along. By the way, we should by no means object to see and hear Lord Wemyss in Cardiff, and if he should come to defend the licensed victuallers, brewers, and publicans in carrying on their objectionable trade, someone (more than one, I fancy,) will be found quite prepared to discuss the subject with his lordship. And, moreover, if Mr. Danvers Power should favour us with a call I am sure it will not be a difficult matter to turn the tables upon him if he has no better arguments to use than those he put forth at the recent public discussion at Canterbury. You clearly intimated to us a few days ago that this gentleman has scored a great victory in that grand cathedral city, and that my friend, Mr. Bingham, and the Alliance were put in the shade. Read again, Mr. Editor, and I think you will find that Mr. Power scored a defeat, and was made to look

so small that to beat a retreat, had it just then been possible, would have given him unbounded satisfaction.

Respecting your "Notes" upon Mr. H. G. Allen and his speech in defence of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, you could not do a much better service than say that Mr H. G. Allen "proclaimed himself a firm believer in the beneficial effect of the Act," only you might have added, and *all* the Welsh members, with a large majority of the Scotch and Irish, and a good round number of English members of Parliament also. Poor Mr. Warton, with his pile of papers surmounted with a snuff-box! "The sturdy champion of all oppressed peoples and interests." Come, now, surely this is making fun, for you can never mean this, and you should not take the hon. member for Bridport off in such a manner; he deserves better at your hands. But poor Mr. Warton, I can never erase him from my memory as I saw him retreat from the first bench of the Opposition to the very last on the same side of the House under the scathing rebuke of Mr. Gladstone on the ever memorable night of the 20th of August, 1881.

Your "Notes" of Saturday last are very enjoyable indeed, though I am not so sure that my "latest" can be easily disposed of." Mr. Beavan has so far held his own and even gone a little beyond, for it would appear as if he had driven a whole host of opponents from the field in writing the "History of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act." What has become of "Ladd," "Omric," and the gallant "Locke." They were going to wither us with their very looks, to say nothing of what their words and pens were going to accomplish? Alas! "How are the mighty fallen and the strong ones brought low?" The inspiration didn't come, and Mr. Locke, with a multitude of others, has passed away into the region of quietness and speechlessness. You say, "May I ask how is it Mr. Beavan has so completely failed," &c. Has he failed? The contention and the proof, too, is that he has

not failed at all. Failure is a word not known to him in such a connection. I am glad you admit that his lordship was not incorrectly reported, for in this a grave responsibility has been removed from your shoulders, but all the greater thrown upon Lord Bramwell's. You utter a great truth when you write, "The old argument as to the evils of drink is well known." Yes; and, further, those arguments, advanced daily, nightly, and almost everywhere now, by a great body of distinguished men from all professions and ranks, from the very highest to the humblest, tell out the tale of wretchedness, misery, and woe arising therefrom with an earnestness and pathos which clearly prove that both the messenger and the message is true, and that the temperance advocate in the denunciation of this drink system, which is rotten from its very foundation, and indeed throughout all its ramifications, cannot be gainsaid or successfully contradicted. You go on to state, "The failure of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act is to be found in unprejudiced observation, disinterested testimony, police and Parliamentary returns, everywhere in fact." I utterly deny this, and indignantly refute such a wild assertion, and I am astonished you should allow such a statement to go forth, because it has been fully proved and conclusively argued out in the columns of the *Western Mail* otherwise. In fact from every quarter named above it has been shown that the Act has been and is a great success. "Unprejudiced observation" has testified over and over again to its beneficial results. "Disinterested testimony" steps in and says the same thing. "Police and Parliamentary returns" show a wonderful decrease of drunkenness and convictions for drunkenness to the extent of nearly 9 per cent., and this about a year ago. Facts and figures sent you months since prove that you are quite wrong. Perhaps by merely asserting a thing so many times you think that the people will believe it; but the most positive and trustworthy proofs

have been handed in of the benefits of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act; and if you want the latest, then take the testimony of Mr. H. G. Allen, Mr. Osborne Mcrgan, and Judge Williams—only a few days ago; see it wonderfully corroborated in the recent action of the Cardiff Corporation, the Swansea and Wrexham Town Councils (note Wrexham specially, please, for you said enough about Wrexham having repented of Sunday Closing a long time ago), Carmarthen and Bridgend Boards of Guardians, Llantrisant, Llantwit Vardre, Brynmawr, and Newport School Boards—all of which, with many others, signed petitions and memorials for the second and third time in favour of English Sunday Closing.

How rich is the following: "Lord Bramwell is in himself a living testimony of the value of drink in moderation." Nothing of the kind. Happy, indeed, for his lordship that he has been spared by the kind hand of Providence to live far beyond the allotted span of human life, but he must be bold indeed who would dare attribute longevity to the use of alcoholic liquors. I don't really believe that Lord Bramwell himself would venture upon such an assertion. He has not got down to extreme old age through the moderate use of drink; he has arrived at nearly four-score *with* (not by) taking drink in moderation, but it is most probable that he would have been even more "hale and hearty," and able to do more "hard thinking" and "hard work" if he had never touched it, and as to living longer, well, that is, as a rule, universally acknowledged.

But bearing more particularly and yet further upon Lord Bramwell's pamphlet on "Drink," I am constrained to ask, Why does his lordship question the enormous expenditure every year upon drink? Why does he doubt the accuracy of the figures or correctness of the estimate? Surely he has means at his command of getting at the proper amount spent annually upon this article, and should ascertain for himself the real facts before venturing to

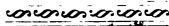
question the statements of those who have so carefully reckoned up the sum as to arrive at the exact estimate ; but, though he questions the aggregate, he confesses that the actual outlay is extravagant and mischievous. I am sorry to discover, on reading his lordship's little work, that he evinces a total ignorance of the other side—the leave-alone side—of the drink question, and appears not to have read any matter written and circulated so very extensively by the temperance party and others. This is manifestly unfair both to himself and us, for how can he advocate one side successfully without knowing the case of his opponents ? Lord Bramwell confesses that the case against drink is “a very strong one.” Then why defend it ? Why seek to uphold a traffic against which the strongest indictments are brought ? Why bolster up a system that is known to be productive of misery and ruin ? A system which he himself admits is “extravagant and mischievous,” if only looked at from a monetary point of view. He says that the nation's yearly outlay in drink is “very lamentable,” that “immense mischief is caused by excessive drink.” I ask again, If all this and much more of the same kind which his lordship tells us be true, then why defend it ? Answer, “Because it does immense good and more good than harm,” says his lordship, “because of the pleasure and thorough relish there is in drink.” Well, surely it means that his lordship will need to write another pamphlet before we can believe this one. Lord Bramwell's zeal has carried him too far, and he becomes his own powerful opponent.

The argument put forth is no more capable of convincing the masses of the goodness of the cause of which he has become a leading—though by no means, we think, powerful—advocate, than if an attempt were made to arrest the sun in its daily rounds, or dip dry the ocean with a child's toy bucket. Would Lord Bramwell venture to say that in the celebration of the Eucharist by our Saviour and

His disciples intoxicating wine was used? Does he assert that the miracle of Cana was that of turning water into intoxicating wine? If so, I have a right to ask for proof, and if not forthcoming I reject entirely the inference drawn. Indeed, I have as much right to give my opinion upon these points as Lord Bramwell or anyone else, and believe that my arguments against such a theory or hypothesis claim the merit of being looked at from a consideration of the character of the person who instituted the one and performed the other, and also in the light of surrounding circumstances. Well, what are these? First, it can never be allowed or admitted for a single moment that the Saviour would be a party to the administration of a product or an article which would set on fire men's passions, inflame their appetites, and rouse in them an unnatural craving for a poison such as the wines and drinks which are sold in the present day—that He, being the fountain of all good, the source of all blessedness, would never lend Himself to deal out that which creates so much sin and perpetuates such a constant stream of vice and wickedness in the world. Again, look at His character as Omnipotent, and from this view alone I appeal to your readers and ask if able to make water into wine, does it follow that because He wrought such a miracle He must needs make *intoxicating* drink? If, in working this wonder, He made wine, is it at all to be assumed or presumed that, of necessity, it should have the same properties and contain alcohol in it as the drinks of to-day? That we think was far from His thoughts and intention, and we have a perfect right and are strengthened by Scripture, commentators, and common sense in arriving at the conclusion that the wine offered in the sacrament, and produced at the marriage feast, was a non-alcoholic, non-intoxicating drink. Besides what were the surrounding circumstances? The people of those times were accustomed to drink the pure, unfermented juice of the grape, to squeeze

the luscious fruit of the vine and drink it. They were favoured by living in a land flowing with this beverage.

One more quotation from his lordship shall suffice for the present. He asks, "Can nothing, then, be done by law to diminish the mischief caused by drink?" And he answers, "I say, No!" Certainly this seems very surprising, that one so learned in the law should argue after such a fashion. If law created the evil; if it protects and preserves it in our midst; if it attempts to surround it by all sorts of safeguards, many of which do more harm than good, then how has it become so suddenly powerless to remove the evil from amongst us? Surely the power that creates is greater than that created, and, though granted that the magnitude of the evils arising from the sale and consumption of intoxicating drinks are multitudinous and appalling in the extreme, yet surely not beyond the power of the Legislature to check, and even remove altogether. This drink question is being arraigned before the bar of public opinion, witnesses are gathering round and moving swift and fast to give evidence against it, and what 400 Acts of Parliament have failed to do, and Government as yet won't do, the people of this country will rise and tolerate no longer. Then shall the shout of triumph be heard, and the voice of gladness peal forth in merry tones. Then shall joy be in our hearts and happiness in our homes when the kingdom of drinkdom has fallen to rise no more.



COUNCILLOR BEAVAN'S REPLY TO MR. DANVERS POWER.

I should much like to say a word or two in reply to "Iron Pen" and "Temperance," but it really, upon reflection, does not seem worth while, for most they write is wide of the mark, and does not touch the point at issue. Mr. J. Danvers Power, however, I feel, claims from me a reply to the questions put, and I proceed at once to give the answers. For Mr. Power's information I may say that I expected he would see my articles on Lord Bramwell's pamphlet, in one of which I made reference to him (Mr. Power).

"All I want," says Mr. Power, "is to enquire whether his statements are worth anything or not, so that we may know where we are." But it occurs to me that this is not "all" Mr. Power wishes, for his next attempt is to try and make little of me and my articles, by saying, "when I have eliminated from his essays what Mr. Beavan thinks of Lord Bramwell's literary style, his opinion of Mr. Warton, the condition Mr. Thomas would be in if he were mixed with Mr. Warton, how little he cares for your strictures, how sure he is that his own side are going to win, and so on, the quantity of matter is very materially reduced. Such as there is, however, I will apply myself to." Mr. Power cannot know me so well as Cardiff and the Principality does, or, I am sure, he would have spared this attempt to make me look foolish. I can stand all this and as much more as Mr. Power may think fit to pile on, and be nothing whatever the worse after it, but probably the better. I do not

assert on "my own authority only that the natural outcome of moderate drinking is the vice of drunkenness." That this is so common sense and illustration prove. The greatest advocates, preachers, ministers, lecturers, clergymen, members of various responsible professions, all bear out this testimony. The fact is as clear as a sunbeam that a man who never takes one glass of intoxicating liquor cannot take two; that the man who takes a glass of drink takes it without ever dreaming of becoming a drunkard. I dare venture the assertion, and believe than even Mr. Power will agree with me, that no person ever commenced to drink with the idea, much less the determination of becoming a drunkard. Hence the splendid advice and high wisdom of the proverb which says:—"Beware of the first glass." Where, I ask, do your 600,000 drunkards come from? Where do the 120,000 deaths every year through "drink" get made up? Out of what ranks do they come, if not from the ranks of moderate "drinkers"? It must be from these, for the supply goes on, and they cannot come from teetotalers, and hence are bound to come from the ranks of moderate drinkers, who, through the insidiousness of this terrible evil, by the creation of the appetite and passion for it on account of constant practice, and the habit of drink growing upon them, they almost imperceptibly become drunkards, and after arriving at a certain stage in their career find it very hard, and in numberless instances impossible, to turn back, hence they are driven on until hurled over the precipice they never intended to reach; they fall into a drunkard's grave, and meet with a drunkard's horrible, unending doom. Mr. Power's first question to me is "to give the names of the two-thirds of the judges who demonstrate that three-fourths of the crime coming before them is caused by 'drink.'"

I accept the position, but bitterly regret that it is possible to prove such an appalling truth. I will take Mr. Power and

your readers back in my quotations over 215 years, and come down to the present date in order that I may fully establish the fact, and that no one shall be able to say I have acted the least unfair in the selection or accuse me of picking out periods which, for the want of a better mode of expression, may be regarded as periods favouring in any degree the habit and practice of this vice. Such times have been made before now an excuse for excessive drinking, as in the years 1870 to 1875, for instance, when the prosperity of the country was such, that it was made a reason for this over-indulgence; but I will not trouble you with much testimony relating to these five years. Sir Mathew Hale, Chief Justice of England in the year 1670, uttered these startling words :—

“The places of judicature which I have long held in this kingdom have given me an opportunity to observe the original cause of most of the enormities that have been committed for the space of nearly twenty years, and by dire observation I have found that, if the murders and manslaughters, the burglaries and robberies, the riots and tumults, the adulteries, fornications, rapes, and other enormities that have happened in that time were divided into five parts, four of them have been the issues and product of excessive drinking.” In 1844, Baron Alderson, at the York Assizes, bore this striking testimony :—“If we take away from the calendar all those cases in which drunkenness has some connection, it will leave that large calendar a very small one. If all men could be persuaded from the use of intoxicating liquors the office of a Judge would be a sinecure.” Judge Wightman, at Liverpool, in 1846, made this remarkable statement :—“I find four-fifths of these crimes were, as in every other calendar, from the cause of the besetting sin of drunkenness.” Mr. Justice Williams, at the York Assizes in the same year, gave this extraordinary deliverance, “All the crime which has filled the castle is to be traced either in one way or the other to the habit of drunkenness.” Judge Coleridge, at the Yorkshire Spring Assizes of 1848, said, “It seems to me that but for the cases where offences have been brought on by the excessive use of intoxicating liquors the courts of justice might be nearly shut up.” Sir Wm. A. Beckett, the Chief Justice of Victoria, on a visit to this country in 1854, made this declaration :—“I say it advisedly, that in nine cases out of ten of the crimes that have come before me judicially in Australia intoxication or the public-house was directly or indirectly the cause.” The Recorder of Birmingham in 1855

said, "Every person whose avocations in life have brought him frequently into a criminal court must admit the truth of what is stated by our judges day by day and year after year, that by far the greater number of all the offences committed have their origin in the love of drinking." The Recorder of Hull in 1865 said, "To the best of my belief, no temperance man ever stood at that bar to receive judgment from this seat, in my time at least, while I tremble to express my belief that seven out of every ten who have done so have been brought there by intoxicating liquor." Baron Platt, at Durham, in 1865, said, "Anyone who takes the pains to hear the cases which come before this court will see that at the bottom of all this mischief is one vice, namely, the vice of drunkenness, not only here, but in the whole Empire, at least that part of the Empire which constitutes our island." Baron Martin, at Liverpool Assizes in 1866, remarked, "Drunkenness seems to be the cause of nine-tenths of the crime which was committed." Justice Lawson, at the Armagh Assizes in 1869, said, "All the crimes we meet with on circuit are more or less, directly or indirectly, caused by drunkenness." Without quoting any more, let me say the following judges utter the very same painful truth in their own, but quite as strong, language as that already given:—Justice Hayes, at Manchester, in 1869; Baron Pigott, in Shropshire, in the same year; Justice Lush, at Liverpool, same year; Justice Lawson, again, in 1872, at Cavan; the late Sir William Bovill, at the Denbigh Assizes, in 1872; Mr. Justice Denman, at the Leeds Assizes, in 1874; Mr. Justice Keating, at the Norwich Assizes, in 1874; Mr. Justice Hawkins, at Leeds, in 1876; Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, at Dublin, in 1877; Mr. Justice Manisty, at Swansea, in 1879; Sir John Mellor, at Manchester, in 1880.

I might go on, but forbear, thinking that by this time I have answered question No. 1 in such a way that it will be scarcely likely to need repeating. The "conspiracy" suggested "to harass Mr. Beavan" in his statement, which "appears to be utterly rash and reckless of the truth," and which refers to animals not liking or making a practice of drinking intoxicating liquors, is fully borne out and proved by Mr. Power himself. I say nothing now of his being so very courteous and yet giving me the lie, which he has failed to prove. He has unconsciously, I know, but yet actually, borne out my own statement, and his supporting it is found in the following: "What animals eat and drink has nothing to do with what human beings eat and drink, *otherwise* they would eat hay and drink pig's wash." Just

so, Mr. Power, and hence, as a rule, by such reasoning and argument you arrive at the same conclusion as myself as to animals not taking strong drink. To every rule there is an exception ; it is, in fact, the exception which proves the rule, and the exception here is that some—very few, comparatively—animals are given, and like, strong drink, but by far the majority of the brute creation do not and will not take such poison into their system at all, they have too much good sense—or rather instinct—and hence in this they teach human beings a very wise and profitable lesson, which they would do well to learn. If Mr. Power persists in accusing me of falsehood he will soon lose the “reputation” he seems so jealous of and anxious to maintain. Hence, for his own sake, would it not be better if he were to “draw it mild”?

Question No. 2 put by Mr. Power is, “What is his authority for the statement that there are 600,000 drunkards in the country, and 120,000 who die annually from drink?” I proceed to answer this question and give my authorities upon the subject. First, then, as to there being 600,000 drunkards in our midst. Dr. Norman Kerr says:—“It is almost universally conceded that there are 600,000 inebriates in the kingdom, and that the number is under-estimated is apparent from the fact that it is equivalent to only four drunkards for each place for the sale of liquor on the premises.” Dr. Richardson said at Brighton in 1875, “That the duration of life in this country was diminished by one-third through the use of intoxicating liquors.” From this statement Mr. Hoyle, whose letters to the *Times* are known in all English-speaking lands, infers that in the year 1876 there were 225,589 deaths due directly and indirectly to strong drink. Put three-fourths of these deaths aside as due indirectly to drink, we have still 56,000 deaths due directly to drink. So we have a close agreement with a statement made by Dr. Richardson not long ago in the

Guild-hall, Plymouth, viz., "That 1,000 deaths, directly through drink, occurred every week, apart altogether from those due to violence resulting from drink." Now, if this be true, at the lowest computation (and no one has been found yet to successfully contradict the statement), this alone establishes the fact that to keep up this death-rate there must be at least 600,000 drunkards in this country. Dr. Richardson, in another place, has given it as his opinion, after a careful examination of this very grave subject, that the number of drunkards in our land is nearer 800,000 than 600,000. But take another argument. There are about 180,000 places in this country licensed for the sale of drink. At the low average of three per house we have very nearly the number made up, without reckoning the middle and upper classes, who, alas! carry on a system of secret drinking, which must terribly add to this number. This estimate of mine is low, and, therefore, to more accurately prove my point, I quote from Mr. Hoyle again. He says:—"Those who have paid much attention to public-houses will agree with me when I say that on an average each house turns out two persons daily who are in a state of intoxication. But suppose we take one person daily, or 180,000 cases daily of intoxication (besides cases of secret drunkenness), will less than 600,000 drunkards suffice to keep up this reduced daily average of cases?" Take explicit computation, and Mr. Hoyle says:—"It is probable that there are at least 800,000 habitual drunkards in the United Kingdom; if we call the number 600,000 we shall be much below the mark." Archdeacon Farrar said in 1878:—"In this country, besides the many who drink, there are 600,000 drunkards."

As to the number who die annually through this vice, and which forms the second part of the second question put by Mr. Power, I remark that Mr. Power puts down the population of this country at 34,000,000. I put it down at *least* 35,000,000. Well, now then, out of a population of

35,000,000, I have said that at least there die annually, directly or indirectly, through strong drink 120,000 persons. Here, again, I regret to say that I find myself greatly *below* the average, and that the awful truth stares us full in the face that at least 200,000 is the frightful number of death's victims every year through the matchless evil produced by intoxicating liquors. Dr. Norman Kerr says:—"I was compelled to admit (before the Social Science Congress) that at least 120,000 of our population lost their lives annually through alcoholic excess." Again, the same writer says, after making a calculation upon another basis:—"This last number leaving an annual total mortality from intemperance of 128,000." Dr. Wakley, the well-known coroner, by a system carefully worked out, estimates the net mortality from hard drinking throughout the kingdom at 119,252. The estimate of Dr. Norman Kerr as to 120,000 being cut off directly and indirectly by this means has been pronounced "moderate," and fully corroborated by Dr. Hardwicke, Dr. Nunn, of Bournemouth; Dr. Hamilton, of Kendal; and Dr. Lankaster, of Leicester, with a host of others. Dr. Richardson has expressed an opinion, which, when properly worked out, shows that in 1876 we lost through alcohol 227,000 lives. The population of the United Kingdom was estimated in 1882 to be 35,250,000, and Dr. Dawson Burns has shown clearly that 28 per cent. of the number of deaths for that year, the total of which was 676,486, was traceable to drink; this would give a total death roll for 1882 of 189,980. I am not directly challenged as to doctors' testimony respecting the use of alcohol, though indirectly I am; but having given only a week or so ago the opinions of the very highest medical authorities in the kingdom as to the pernicious character and injurious effects of strong drink upon the entire system—mentally, physically, and every other way—I do not propose to repeat such testimony, but may observe that, since I cited my authorities upon the

medical aspect of the question, I have stumbled over, in my reading, a great number of opinions from most eminent physicians all over the world, who testify in unqualified language as to the dire effects of alcohol upon the system, and especially upon the brain. So as to the latter, if persons are foolish enough to tell us that they feel no ill effects from its use, we shall be led to doubt if they have any brains or not. I want to remind Mr. Power of another quotation from Sir James Paget, which he did not give us. It is this. In speaking about this evil Sir James says: "Many people who pass for highly respectable, and who mean no harm, are thus daily damaging their health and making themselves unfit to brave any of the storms of life." The medical aspect of the question is decidedly and most emphatically in favour of teetotalers, Mr. Power's denial notwithstanding.

Question No. 3 is, "What is his authority for that statement?" meaning a statement that I made last year when speaking at a mass meeting in the open air at Treallaw, that drunkenness had decreased in Wales 8 per cent. since the coming into operation of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act. I did make that statement and am ready with my proof. The meeting referred to was a grand one, for out in the pouring rain (true old fashion teetotal weather), upon the side of the highway on a slight elevation, it was my pleasure to speak for an hour to the vast crowd assembled, which could not have been less than 1,000 persons, called together at a few hours' notice, to hold a counter-meeting to one called by the licensed victuallers to "repeal the Welsh Sunday Closing Act." I shall never forget it. We marched nearly two miles to meet our opponents; we waited long and anxiously for their coming. We even went in search of them; and at last, after waiting nearly two hours, they came. Yes, they came in procession down from Treorki, a splendid Cardiff brass band in front. We watched them

of course expecting after weeks of publicity, much expense, large placards all over the Rhondda, the heads of the department upon the scene from Cardiff, Pontypridd, and elsewhere, great advertisements in the local and other papers, that there would be at least a crowd to look at, if nothing else. We felt their power was weak, that they had no arguments to bring forward that could possibly damage us or the Act; and so we were feeling very comfortable. But we certainly did expect to see a crowd. But, keep silence if you can; we could not, for they came swooping down upon us in grand procession and with steady march, the band, of course, in front, and *no one behind*. Yes, there was one, two, three, thirteen, all told! Noble army of "Repealers," who were going to carry everything before them; only they didn't, that's all! Thirteen of them, they were not enough, and so we gained by their ignominious failure, and had a splendid meeting.

But how about the 8 per cent. decrease in drunkenness in Wales? Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., called for a return to be laid on the table of the House of Commons as to arrests for drunkenness in the Principality for the years 1881 and 1883. This was done, and here is a summary as to arrests for Sunday drunkenness in Wales :—

For 1881	309
For 1883	287

Decrease 22

How much less than 8 per cent. is this? I hear sometimes my teetotal friends speak in rather anxious tones as to the working of the Act, just one or two now and again; but it has worked and is still working excellently, doing wonders in our midst, and very much to hasten and bring about English Sunday Closing. What is the use of Mr. Power giving us the list of convictions for "drunk and disorderly" conduct in Wales during the last three years? No one is in

dispute about such a question at all that I know of; certainly I am not. My object has been definite. I have set myself to prove the great benefits and blessings of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, and these other matters referred to in my several communications, and this I can do. I am quite open to discuss the subject until the whole has been completely thrashed out. The judges, as a rule, give very favourable comments from time to time as to the state of crime in Wales in its general and aggregate character, but I am talking of a specific matter about which I am challenged.

Question No. 4 of Mr. Power's runs as follows:—"What does he mean when he says that these bodies (referred to in his letter) signed petitions and memorials for the second and third time in favour of English Sunday Closing?" Well, certainly, this seems like "barking at the moon." Still, I will answer Mr. Power's question, though it does seem like catching at a straw to ask such a thing. In my account of what the Cardiff Corporation, and other Town Councils, Boards of Guardians, School Boards, &c., had done in relation to the matter, I laid down a general principle, and proceeded to act upon it, and for this I am taken to task. True, every public body mentioned by me, and which I bracketed together in writing concerning their action, did not sign petitions and memorials for the second and third time for English Sunday Closing. But what was present to my mind was this very significant fact, viz., that several of the public bodies alluded to did sign for the second time for English Sunday Closing, and if you take into account the memorials and petitions for Welsh and English Sunday Closing, then several of the public bodies I mentioned, and very many I did not trouble to mention at all, did literally and really sign for the second and third time in favour of Welsh and English Sunday Closing. I may tell Mr. Power that I am glad to note that some of the public bodies who *refused* to sign for English Sunday Closing twelve months

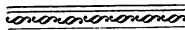
or so ago have seen the good effects of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, and they have been won over, and petitioned a few weeks ago in favour of English Sunday Closing; this, surely, is an argument in my favour, which, if Mr. Power does not like, he must pocket, because it is an accomplished fact. I should not at all object to enter the arena with Mr. Power upon the matter of "Expenditure upon drink," for, although this, again, is not one of the direct questions put by him, yet sideways he introduces the subject, and tries to make capital out of it. But what does it amount to? He questions the actual cost of the nation's Drink Bill when set down roundly at £136,000,000 per year for the last ten years if we strike the average. I could show that, unfortunately, this is under the estimate of the "Nation's Drink Bill," and if we were to set about the task of proving the direct and indirect loss to the country every year through this system in point of money value alone, we should find that it came to nearer, if not quite, £200,000,000. As to the cause of taxation being removed, if we swept this demon from our midst, well, that goes without saying, for prisons, workhouses, asylums, police, magistrates, judges, and the enormous expenditure in connection with the keeping up of these institutions, and those in connection with them, would nearly all have to go. Mr. Power (talking apparently to himself) says, upon this very point, "But as I do not see how this can be proved one way or the other, I think it is scarcely worth while to discuss it." Perhaps not, Mr. Power, though we are bold enough to say that all this can be proved, but perhaps from your side "it is scarcely worth while to discuss it." Towards the end of Mr. Power's article, and just before coming to question No. 5, he indulges in another bit of chaff, of which in one article we have had a fair share; but if I were going to reply in detail to this, I suppose I could not be far wrong in saying that I have an opinion of my own, and I stand or fall by what I have

written. I have my reputation to keep up as well as Mr. Power, and though I may not be worthy to be named among the illustrious men of the day to whom he has made some allusion, yet my principles are as dear to me as theirs are to them, and I mean to stick to them, and, what is more, to assert those principles fearlessly. Of course, my opinion may not be worth much, and perhaps nothing to Mr. Power, but I think in using so many times as he has the word "rhapsody" in relation to my articles that he might have found a better. I do not wander or beat about the bush much, and hence the word "rhapsody" is not a good definition to apply, but if it pleases Mr. Power I can do with it very well.

Question No. 5 is, "Is he paid by the teetotalers, or any temperance society?" I am very happy to reply and say that I have the honour of being the district superintendent (for South Wales and adjoining counties) for the United Kingdom Alliance, and I expect that this is no news to Mr. Power. I have been a paid agent for three months ! But I have been engaged in this kind of work for many years, as thousands in Cardiff and the Principality know very well. Moreover, I have done temperance and various other kinds of mission work for many years, at the sacrifice of much valuable time and much money also, and though for twenty years and upwards I had the care of a large business upon me, and for ten years of that time I had two businesses to look after, yet I have never once begrudged the time, labour, and money I have spent, and the many heavy sacrifices made, in promoting the cause of temperance and religion in my humble way up and down the country, and from pulpit, platform, and press. For three months, however, I have been a paid agent, and, between ourselves, I hope I may long continue one, and for those I have the pleasure to now serve. But what of this ? Is a man because he is a paid agent to close his mouth, stop his ears, and shut his eyes ? Is that the

doctrine Mr. Power would "thrust down our throats"? If so, I for one have a decided objection to swallow it. Thanks to a more enlightened age, the day has gone by when those who are paid shall cease to have their say, and raise their voice in the affairs of this great nation, in relation to the important questions of the day, of which the one under review is among the foremost. Besides, does not Mr. Power see that to ask such a question is not only rude and impertinent, but puts a very powerful weapon in my own hand to use against him, and it is this: If I am a paid agent, and get my living by going about the country to denounce the whole system of drinking, and pull down the kingdom of drinkdom, does it not occur to Mr. Power that the sooner the object is attained the sooner I can go about my business and look for another job, and hence, in a pecuniary sense, it may be regarded that it would be to my own self-interest not to be in too much hurry to bring about such a reformation as that of turning everybody teetotal. Yet this is what we want, what we are trying to do, and what we hope to accomplish as speedily as possible, and I am one who believes that, in his own way, Mr. Power is helping us on to the goal we seek. I have answered pretty fully the five questions put to me by Mr. Power. If he wishes to return to the fray he is quite welcome. I do not intend to pick a quarrel with him or "lose my reputation" by violating the rules of debate; but I shall always, I trust, be found on the side of right, and never intend to lower the flag I have held up so long. Temperance, sobriety, abstinence from the use of all intoxicating drinks, is my cry and practice. Teetotalism I know is right and best, and, although I do not wish to thrust it upon anyone perforce, yet I will continue to advocate it with all the power at my command, and hope those who have not as yet will seriously consider, and come to the determination to adopt the principles we advocate, which will tend more than almost anything else to make this world of ours a

paradise. The indictment against "Drink" has been made so many times and so often that we need not repeat it here, but in a subsequent article I hope to give quotations, &c., from very distinguished and eminent men which I have not mentioned hitherto, such as Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Stafford Northcote, and many such like men, who know its power for evil and have been compelled to write it down.



LORD BRAMWELL ON "DRINK."

IN my last article upon the above subject, and which appeared in the *Western Mail* of May 26, 1885, after disposing of the whole of the questions put to me by Mr. Danvers Power, I closed by indulging the hope that the opportunity might be afforded me in a subsequent article to give opinions, &c., from such distinguished men as Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Randolph Churchill, and others, hitherto not mentioned by myself, relative to this drink business, and its power for evil. Judge of my surprise, however, when on June 3rd, 1885, I found what was called "a rejoinder," from Mr. Danvers Power, to my last article, and at the conclusion of same the following note by the Editor: "We can admit no more letters on this subject." The "rejoinder" from Mr. Power bears on the very face of it the stamp of weakness and deceit. He (Mr. Power) is obliged to confess that his first question was founded entirely on a misapprehension of what I had said, and having acknowledged this, he proceeds to charge me with saying that during the past 215 years two-thirds of all the Judges had demonstrated that three-fourths of all the crimes committed were brought about through drink. I did not say so, although, had this been the task assigned me to prove, I feel I should have had no difficulty whatever, except the research it would occasion and the fear that, from the length of such evidence and testimony, I might weary my readers. What I did say was "that nearly all the Judges demonstrated that two-thirds, if not three-fourths, of

the crime in this country is brought about by the one evil of Drink." This I most fully and conclusively proved by quoting the opinions of very many of Her Majesty's Judges extending back over a period of 215 years, but, of course, not giving a tithe of the total number, for this would be impossible; instead of filling the small space at my command in a newspaper, it would fill a large book. My sole object in going back over more than two centuries was to show that this "deadly thing" had been in our midst, producing mischief of the most serious character, and had exercised the minds of celebrated and learned Judges both as to the enormity of the vice and the best means of putting it down, and so gigantic was, and is, the evil, that such distinguished persons appear utterly at a loss as to the best means to be adopted to rid our country of it; the one great and only remedy for all this being the entire suppression of the liquor traffic, and the reign of total abstinence in our midst everywhere. This is the only safe and sure antidote for this great evil, which is really the "abomination of desolation" in our land to-day.

I proved so clearly the second question Mr. Power put to me, as to there being 600,000 drunkards constantly with us, and 120,000 persons who die annually as the victims of Strong Drink, that even Mr. Power dares not dispute my figures, and in his "rejoinder" does not attempt to disprove my statement.

My answer to question No. 3, as to the decrease of drunkenness in Wales since the operation of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, is fully borne out by Mr. Power himself, for he says "it is simply Sunday drunkenness which has decreased 8 per cent." Quite so, this was exactly what we undertook to prove in answer to the question put. I might, however, very justly and proudly add here, that, since the answer was given, and upon carefully going through the figures again, I find that, if the boroughs and countie

in Wales be taken together, which is only fair, for they all form the Principality, then we have a decrease in arrests and convictions for drunkenness, down to October, 1884, of the gratifying total of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If one county, Glamorganshire, be omitted, the reduction in arrests and convictions for Sunday drunkenness reaches 50 per cent. for the remainder of Wales. Glamorganshire, as is well known, is on the border, and over the border the public-houses are open ; when Sunday Closing is extended to England there will probably be a still further decrease of Sunday drunkenness in this county. As it is, many boroughs and some counties, to their honour and credit be it said, do not record one single arrest or conviction for this offence during the whole year. I have nothing to add to my answer to question No. 4, which Mr. Power treats as being false. What I then stated is substantially correct, and all the public bodies I then named had, with only one or two exceptions, signed petitions in favour of Welsh and English Sunday Closing.

The last question as to my being paid, &c., I dismiss by referring the reader to my former reply; but as to Mr. Power's remark "that the less we hear of Mr. Beavan's opinions, &c., the better," I can well understand. No doubt Mr. Power has felt very much chaffed and annoyed at being confronted by such facts and figures as I have been able to supply, which have had the effect of scattering to the four winds of heaven all the clap-trap he has thought well to dispense to the readers of the *Western Mail* with the view of inducing them to take sides with him. Because he has so miserably failed to make out a good case or prove his own cause, he descends to banter, abuse, and bad temper.

In closing my observations upon a question so important and vital as "The Drink Question," I quote from many eminent men who were not and are not on the teetotal side. I am glad to be able to quote from them, because it will be at once seen that such distinguished authorities claim it

to be of supreme importance that something should immediately be done to stem this torrent of evil, and that the principles we advocate are to be highly commended and worthy the acceptance of all good and self-denying citizens.

The late C. Buxton, brewer, uttered these memorable words upon this subject: "We are convinced that if a statesman who desired to do the utmost for his country were thoughtfully to inquire which of the topics of the day deserved the most intense force of his attention, the true reply would be that he should study the means by which *this worst of plagues*, intemperance, could be stayed." The great Richard Cobden, whose name has long since become a household word, said, "That every day's experience tends more and more to confirm me in the opinion that the Temperance cause lies at the foundation of social and political reform." In massive masterly eloquence, the venerable statesman, John Bright, hath said, "A monster obstacle is in our way—strong drink, by whatever name the demon is styled, in whatever way it presents itself, prevents our success. Remove this one obstacle, and our course will be onward and our labours will be blest." Lord Chesterfield said, more than 100 years ago, "Let us crush these artists in human slaughter, who have reconciled their country to sickness and ruin, and spread over the pitfalls of debauchery such a bait as cannot be resisted." Lord Aberdare, when Home Secretary in 1871, said: "Committees of both Houses of Parliament, the Church in Convocation, Ministers of every religion, Judges and Magistrates collectively and individually, Boards of Health and Boards of Guardians, have all united in proclaiming and impressing upon Parliament the mischiefs which have arisen from the excessive use of intoxicating liquors. Social and sanitary reformers who spend their lives in doing good to their fellow men are baffled at every point by the reckless moral degradation which springs from, and is occasioned by, the liquor traffic. Our prisons, lunatic asylums, and workhouses are filled with inmates whose downward career has originated in their passion for intoxicating liquors." Sir Stafford Northcote, in addressing the Licensed Victuallers' Association, December 30, 1879, said as follows:—"But I do wish most earnestly, having this opportunity of addressing a body of men who are connected with this business, to impress upon you, and through you others, who are engaged in the same calling, the importance which the country attaches, and rightfully attaches, to the subject of temperance. The evils of drunkenness become more and more patent. Every day we examine into the matter we are more and more impressed with the frightful mischiefs which arise from it, and the conscience of the country is fairly aroused on the subject." The Right Hon. Earl Cairns, said in March, 1882, "We believe

the evil of intemperance to be the source and parent of all other evils—that it fills our gaols, that it peoples our lunatic asylums, that it crowds our hospitals and our workhouses, that it draws in its train misery, suffering, and want, and that it wrecks and ruins every house it enters.” I must be pardoned for giving another quotation from the late Mr. Charles Burton, M.P., the great brewer. He says “not only does the vice produce all kinds of positive mischief, but it also has a negative effect of great importance. It is the mightiest of all the force that clogs the progress of good. It is in vain that every engine is set to work that philanthropy can devise, when those whom we seek to benefit are habitually tampering with the faculties of reason and will—soaking their brains with beer, or inflaming them with ardent spirit. The struggle of the school, the library and the church, all united against the beerhouse and the gin palace, is but one developement of the war between heaven and hell.” Prof. Goldwin Smith says, “But when I see the havoc, the ever-increasing havoc, which drink is making with the industry, the vigour, the character of the British race, I somehow ask myself whether, if it is incumbent on legislators to stop a cattle plague by closing the ports against contagion, the most deadly of all man plagues ought to be allowed to spread without control.” Sir Arthur Bass recently said at a Licensed Victuallers’ Protection Society’s dinner “I would urge you, the Licensed Victuallers in reality as well as in name, to take the argument out of the mouths of your opponents, by supplying, as I know many of you do, non-intoxicating liquors, such as tea and coffee and substantial food.” Lord Randolph Churchill, speaking in reference to the Temperance question, said some year or so ago, “The Great Temperance Movement is the most important popular effort in the direction of a more refined civilization which has been witnessed since the day of Wesley.” Mr. Ashby, himself a brewer, addressing Mr. Lambs, a gentleman applying for a license to sell drinks, said, “As a father of a family, how can you advocate the erection of such a *serious nuisance*, if you have the slightest regard for the welfare and the proper bringing up of a family?” This accords well with what Cowper wrote concerning drink: “’Tis here they learn the road that leads from competence to indigence and rapine.” Alas, that, concerning this terrible plague, it is “no new thing under the sun,” but quite the reverse, one of very long standing and brim full of the most direful, dangerous, and fatal consequences, far worse than the much dreaded plague of cholera, scourge of fever or ravages of small-pox. In fact it is the darkest, blackest, foulest, and most fatal plague in our midst, causing destruction and death all around, with fearful rapidity and terribly alarming frequency. Archdeacon Farrar says, “I have no tongue to utter, no imagination to conceive, no calculus to measure the immensity of this National Curse. . . . He alone, by whom the hairs of our head are all

numbered can count the widows, the madmen, the grey heads that it has made grey, the hearts that it has crushed with sadness, the families that it has ruined, the brilliant minds that it has quenched, the unfolding promises that it has cankered, the bright and happy boys and girls it has blasted into shame and misery, the young and the gifted whom it has hurried headlong into dishonoured and nameless graves. Does not Shakespeare say, by the mouth of the disgraced and ruined Cassio, 'O thou invisible Spirit of Wine, if thou hast no name to be known by let us call thee Devil.'?"



